United Nations WORLD

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

DECEMBER • 35¢

"Peace" Painting by Stephen Jones Page 9

Airplanes grow ...just like people!

There is a popular impression that a new airplane is a finality; that, once flown, it is a never-changing thing.

Nothing could be farther from the truth.

During the entire lifetime of an airplane, developments and improvements are being incorporated ceaselessly, so that after several hundred million passenger-miles of service, the product is a great advancement over the one that first left the factory.

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Burbank, California, U. S. A.

LOOK TO LOCKHEED FOR LEADERSHIP

n WORLD

mailbox

Machinery for Peace

This department is extremely interested in the excellent James Cutter chart on "UN: Machinery for Peace" which appeared as a centre-spread in our September edition.

It is our feeling that this chart would be of great value as a reference for Canadian diplomatic missions and consular offices. With this in mind, would you please advise whether we might have your permission to make photographic copies of it for distribution to our offices abroad.

Yours sincerely,
ALLAN ANDERSON
INFORMATION DIVISION
CANADIAN DEPT. OF
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Variety Impresses

I . . . am impressed with the variety and quality of the articles. Official action must be backed by an alert and informed public opinion, and I think your magazine can do a most valuable job in meeting the need to make people more aware of the world outside their own community and country.

THE RT. HON. L. S. ST. LAURENT
CHAIRMAN, CANADIAN DELEGATION
TO UN

Norman Thomas Dissents

One always reads an article on peace or international organization by Viscount Cecil ("Outlaw Aggression!" UNW, September) with respect; nevertheless, I was oppressed by the unrealism of his article on outlawing aggression. It takes little or no cognizance of the reality of the present situation, the Soviet drive for power in terms of world revolution and the methods by which it continues that drive. Rightly or wrongly the Nuremberg trials commanded no such popular support as to lend a sound basis for future action. This is especially true in view of the continuance of crimes against humanity by the victors in the practice of forced labor and the wholesale displacement of populations.

The one chance of dealing with aggression is through the end of competitive armament.

Disarmament, to be effective, must be comprehensive. It must include the Baruch plan and also the universal abolition of peacetime military conscription, with demilitarization of narrow waterways and island bases and the reduction of all arms to a police level for maintaining international order. There must then be certain reforms in the UN and the creation of an international police force probably on the quota principle. No valid program for peace can be worked out except on the basis of the

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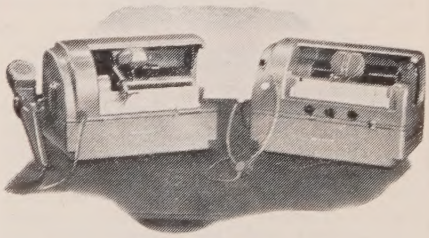

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STATE OF NEW YORK }
COUNTY OF NEW YORK } SS

for OCTOBER 1, 1947

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Egbert White, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Publisher of UNITED NATIONS WORLD and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc. of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933 and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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(Signed) Egbert White
Publisher

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1947

JAMES H. WYMBS
(My commission expires Mar. 30, 1948)

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MAIL BOX *(continued)*

reaction of peoples and governments to an appeal for this sort of disarmament.

NORMAN THOMAS, CHAIRMAN
POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Challenge to Geneva

At San Francisco "We the people of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." Those opening words of the U.N. Charter gave hope to a war-torn world. The hopes are dimmed. The United Nations seem to have split into the divided powers. Hence the meeting of the Human Rights Commission, presently to take place at Geneva, can become a supreme test of man's will to peace.

Lovely Geneva, cemetery of the League, the grammarians' Gehenna; will the coming conference in that ill-fated place produce only words, only a noble declaration? Will the native resolution be sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought? Or will there come forth a bold demand for enactment by the United Nations of an enforcible International Bill of equal Human Rights for all men everywhere? Is it a time to confer cautiously; or is it rather a moment in history where valor is the better part of discretion?

I suggest that this challenge to Geneva is a theme deserving your comment.

JAMES N. ROSENBERG
CHAIRMAN, HUMAN
RIGHTS COMMITTEE,
NAT. CONF. OF CHR. & JEWS

No International Law

To say that no state has ever denied the existence of international law nor its obligation to obey it ("UN Without Law," UNW, October) is utter nonsense. No man could count the number of times that nations have, with perfect impunity, violated the letter and the spirit of international law during this century. . . . The trouble with it is that it is not law at all. One does not have to study law all one's life to understand that the basic requirement of law is the power to punish those who do not obey it and to protect those who do. . . . The very nature of law is such that it must bind individuals. . . . If laws do not bind the individual men that make up nations, who then will obey them? . . . If we are to have world laws, we must have world government.

JOHN C. HOLT, II
NEW YORK, N. Y.

The editors will not allow me space to show Mr. Holt that international law is law; Of course, states violate the law; so do robbers and murderers, but they do not deny or destroy the law which they break.

Mr. Holt is simply contemptuous of anything less than world law and world government. I will go a long way in that direction, but I know that I must build on what we have. International law should reach to individuals; but it will take a lot of education to dev in the average individual a loyalty law outside his own nation. This is actly the point of my article: we n teach the people to respect inte tional law and develop it.

Clyde Eagleto
New York, N

Mr. Carson Agrees

I am in accord with Einstein's ar ("Open Letter to the General Ass bly," UNW, October) 100 per because the truths it contains are b on facts and not on hopes. I see one way around a III World War, that is in your proposition of a pa world government . . . and agree you that Russia, once she sees government means business, will the light and come in as a strong fac

The American system of educa below the college has been almost wh national, and more a program of pr ganda for American self-interest education for world citizenship and welfare of mankind at large. Secon with a few exceptions, our governm has been rather childish, fearful of group or that. . . .

This past education of our peopl exactly what influenced the writing the UN Charter—and it is now fo without authority to do what it created to do. . . . Its program is f but we can't wait on an educatio program so to develop public opi the world over that it becomes a f to prevent war. If we wait till a the atom bombs begin to fall ag there will be no public to clear a the debris.

X. CARSON
DALLAS, TE

Big Hats & Mr. Molotov

I sent one copy of 5 different ma zines to some friends in France asked them to select the one that in ested them most. They chose yo Their exact words were "We did know the UN was so well organiz Over here we always think of the as many big hats meeting and of agreeing on something until Mr. M tov appears. What is so rare is t you get a general idea of major eve all over the world and a pretty unbia opinion. We shall pass these magazi on to all we know who speak Engl They will do a lot of good." . . . Th ought to be a French edition, it wo open the eyes of certain classes French who seem to imagine that intellectual life of the world began w the Russian Revolution!

BEVERLY D. CONNE
POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y

UNW Goes to Japan

UNW is getting better with each is The General Assembly number is p ticularly excellent. I have been sen my copies to Japan.

REV. TORU MATSUM
LARCHMONT, N. Y.

vhat in the WORLD

n amazing collection of odds and ends having to do ith life and times of humanity in the Atomic Age.

eep It Under Your Hat

WIW, always eager to promote e happiness and wellbeing of its aders, is passing on this very con- dential bit of information.

There is a place in the world here anyone can land without assport or visa, to be received ith open arms, given a bungalow live in, servants to wait on him, cilities for tennis, golf and cricket. is an obscure little island called amaran in the Red Sea—a kind "no man's island," forgotten by l except the few travelers who en- yed the hospitality of its gover- or, ex-British Army officer, David hompson. The island was orig- ally built as a gigantic Ellis Is- nd for the numerous Asiatic pil- rims en route to Mecca and Me- ina. There they were quarantined rior to their return to their home- nds so as to prevent them from arrying diseases from the Hejaz to eir native countries. There is no nger any need for this Oriental uarantine, but the station is still aintained, jointly administered y Britain and the Netherlands. Cap" Thompson is still there to ive a good time to any chance vis- or—provided, of course, there is o rush for Kamaran after this em on easy life in our world is ublished.

hivering Strap-Hangers

Swedish commuters will have hilly travelling this winter. As part the electricity rationing pro-

am, trolley temperatures will be stricted to 50 degrees Fahrenheit, burban trains to 57 degrees. ong-distance travellers will enjoy mperatures of 62 degrees.

Nanking Honors UN

"Let All 1,750,000,000 of Us Understand Each Other and Live Peacefully", reads the message on a large banner recently displayed in Nanking. The occasion was a three-day United Nations exhibit, sponsored by the "New Life Movement Association" and the "Officers Moral Endeavor Association." Inside the exhibit hall were displayed the flags of all the United Nations and portraits of President Truman. Prime Minister Attlee, Premier Ramadier, Marshal Stalin and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. Under each flag was a poster, showing population, language and geographical location. Photographs and some publications from each country were on display.

German Teachers Learn Democracy

Last year, Sweden set aside 90,000 kroner (U.S. $25,000) to re-educate German teachers along democratic lines. Now 60 teachers from the American and British zones in Germany are attending a 5-week course at Norrkoping. After they "graduate", they will go in pairs to Folk High Schools through Sweden to see its democratic education system at work.

Whales in Cans

Australia is eyeing her whales as possible candidates for canning. The government believes that canned whale meat may help stretch the meat ration in Britain and also add vitamins to Australian dinner tables.

Visas May Vanish

The Third Inter-American Travel Congress at Buenos Aires in April 1948 will consider the establishment of an Inter-American Tourist Card which would serve as a traveler's passport and do away with the visas. The agency issuing passports in the country of origin would supply the cards.

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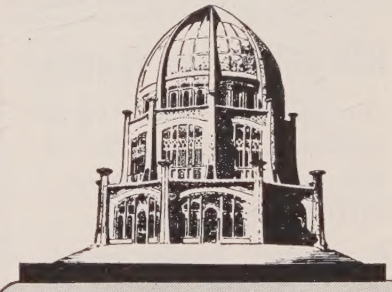

BAHÁ'Í
A WORLD FAITH

These appalling conditions and events smiting a decadent civilization today pronounce the doom of materialism in all its ancient and hallowed forms.

Nothing can escape this universal, God-directed process of frustration which is prerequisite to the rebirth of purer faith, the regeneration of character, the recognition of human oneness, and unity of effort in building a new order of justice and peace.

"We must not look for truth in the deeds and actions of nations; we must investigate truth at its Divine source and summon all mankind to unity in the Reality itself," the Baha'i teachings affirm. The call for spiritual heroism has again been raised.

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WIW *(continued)*

China's Lost Dollar

Single Chinese dollars (it now takes 400 of them to buy a U.S. cent) have been out of circulation in Shanghai for almost two years. A blacksmith named Chou-Chu-jen was fined one Chinese dollar in a slander case, got so tired of looking for a dollar bill that he tried to

settle for CN$10,000. (The Judge refused it.) According to one Chinese newspaper, a CN$100 bill would buy two cows 10 years ago; five years ago it would buy one hen; last year, one egg; this year, a third of a pack of matches; next year, "The Lord only knows! . . ." Even a million Chinese dollars won't buy bird's nest soup, sharks' fins or sea slugs after Jan. 1, 1948 if the anti-luxury drive of China's Minister of Economic Affairs is successful. He also proposes to ban perfumes, silks, satins, cosmetics, cigarettes, candy and pearls.

Best Seller "Down Under"

The Melbourne (Australia) Public Library reports that the most popular book in the U.S. collection is the Manhattan Telephone Directory. Librarians are at a loss to explain why so many Aussies are interested in phone numbers on the other side of the globe.

Russia's "New Stone" Age

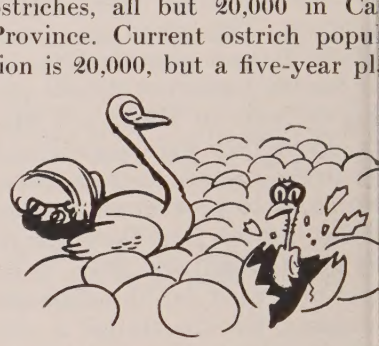
The Russians have invented a new kind of synthetic stone—diopsidite. Although it looks like white marble, it is as hard as granite and will not erode under frost, heat, rain or wind. Diopsidite, made from flinty glass-sand and dolomite, will be used in building the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow. Begun before the war, the Palace will be a great, tiered skyscraper, topped by a giant statue of Lenin —in all, slightly taller than the Empire State Building. It will have 6,000 rooms, 40,000 government offices and an auditorium seating 21,000. Meetings of the Supreme Soviet will be held in the Palace.

The Polish Egg and I

Betty MacDonald's recent bo seller, *The Egg and I,* is being i in serial form in *Przekroj* (Cro Section), a widely read magaz published in Krakow.

Five-Year Ostrich Plan

Ostrich feathers are "in agai as everyone knows. Moreover, v uable oil can be extracted fr ostrich quills, and the flues of trich feathers can be used in co bination with wool for a new ty of dress material. This promi "long stability" to South Afric historic ostrich-breeding busin which started in 1857 with the mestication of the first ostrich. has had some severe ups a downs. The big boom of 1880- sent the price of a pair of ostrich soaring to $5,000. By 1911 Sou Africa had 750,000 domesticat ostriches, all but 20,000 in Ca Province. Current ostrich popu tion is 20,000, but a five-year pl



proposes to raise it to 250,000. female ostrich can hatch up to baby birds a year and, fate pe mitting, can live more than century.

Seven-Year Rice Plan

Siam recently sent 30 enginee on a tour of the farm belts of t United States. On their return th will work on the seven-year en neering project designed to ra exports of rice by 500,000 tons a soy-beans by 100,000 tons. Wh the project is completed irrigat land will constitute one-third Siam's cultivated acreage.

Ten-Year Tin Plan

The new Malayan Union go ernment, itself a coordination colonial governments of Brit Malaya, has coordinated 40 dev opment projects into an over- 10-year plan of economic develo ment. Revolving mainly around and rubber production, it is pected to cost about $600,000,0

1. "Peace on earth, good will to men," said Santa. "They sure need it. I wonder if there's anything that I can do to speed it.

2. "Of course there is!" he cried with joy. "I'll slip these invitations in all the Christmas stockings of the whole United Nations.

3. "I'll ask them to the Statler, it's one place that fills the bill, for there the air is always full of friendship and good will.

4. "And round the Statler's festive board we'll toast the Christmas Season. We'll pledge ourselves to build a world of fellowship and reason.

5. "And from the nations of the world . . . and from the Statler, too, will rise a Merry Christmas wish—*Good Will and Peace to You!*"

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Norman Cousins, Saturday Review of Literature, says: "It is a real hit. It is graphic, precise, effective."

HOW TO THINK about the UNITED NATIONS

WHETHER the United Nations succeeds or fails depends greatly upon whether it is properly understood, vigilantly watched, and properly encouraged — or intelligently criticized. Yet, surveys reveal that *few* understand the real purposes of the United Nations, and *most* have no real idea about whether it is succeeding or failing — or why.

Because many intelligent Americans want to have dependable standards of judgment about the United Nations, a group of experts asked themselves: *How can we tell the people what to look for, and what to expect?* Out of this grew the fascinating booklet, HOW TO THINK ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS, by *Fred Smith*, which authorities and average readers alike hail as "the most helpful thing we've seen."

It tells you how to ascertain, from day-to-day newspaper reports, *who* is at fault when there is a disagreement; *which* nations are breaking international laws and agreements; *why* violent battles at the United Nations are a sign of health rather than disintegration; *what* you can honestly expect from the United Nations — and *how* you can help achieve these expectations.

This down-to-earth, common sense handbook, amusingly illustrated by the Swiss artist, Kelly Oeschli, will help bring you comfort and peace of mind — will fortify you against "World War III jitters" when you read your daily newspaper. To secure the widest possible distribution of this book, it is priced to just cover production and handling charges, and is printed in a size that can be enclosed in a regular envelope. Read it — and mail extra copies to friends who do not understand the United Nations and are losing sleep over "World War No. 3." Send the coupon below with your remittance.

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WIW *(continued)*

Fewer Pesos Cross the Plate

Uruguay's summer tourist season —one of the country's major sources of foreign currency—starts this month (December) with its principal customers on austerity budgets. Travelling budgets of Argentines, who comprise 90 per cent of Uruguay's tourist trade, have been cut to 1,000 pesos ($250) in their government's effort to stop the flow of capital out of the country. Hardest hit will be Uruguayan gambling casinos, which used to gross $15,000,000 a season.

Ecuador's "Enchanted Islands"

Graduates of Ecuador's Mejia University, laden with food, clothing, medicine, farming tools and books, recently left to visit the country's 55-island volcanic Galapagos Archipelago. Named the Enchanted Islands by Spanish explorers, the Pacific archipelago was visited by Lord Byron and Darwin aboard the *Beagle*. Population in 1918 was less than 700, although with agricultural and fishing facilities, the islands could shelter 20,000. The Mejia expedition hopes to bring the islanders closer to the Mother Country, to send four native inhabitants to study in Quito, and to build the islanders a library.

Philatelic Note

What may be the world's most southerly post office will soon be operating on Heard Island, base of the Australian National Antarctic Research Expedition (ANARE). Leader of the group, Capt. Stuart Campbell, will be the first postmaster. The uninhabited sub-antarctic island, near Kerguelen Land, is 2000 miles southwest of Fre-

mantle. Note to stamp collectors: no special stamps will be issued but letters addressed to the Postmaster, Heard Island, c/o the Superintendent, Mail Branch, Melbourne, Australia, will be cancelled with a stamp bearing the inscription, "ANARE Heard Island, Australia."

Venerable Vasili

When he was seven years ol Vasili Tishkin watched Napoleo retreat from Russia. During th last war he watched Hitler's arm retreat. Vasili himself refuses to r treat; at the age of 142, he is sti active on a Soviet collective far

Moscow Curtain Call

Play-goers to Moscow's Bolsh Theatre make a point of arrivin long before the curtain rises. Sp

cial attraction is the "curtain" it self—an exquisite Turkmenian ca pet which measures almost 2,00 square feet. It weighs 1,170 pound and contains 25,000 knots in eac square foot of the richly colore fabric. Much too beautiful to b trod on, the rug is the gift of 3 Turkmenian weavers.

Phantom Ships

Panama, which auctioned off he last vessel, a steam launch, fo £1800 in 1932, is today the fourt maritime nation of the world. Thi "rags-to-riches" story is strictly technicality. During World War I American liberty ships registere in Panama and sailed under it flag to avoid German U-boats After the war, shipowners contin ued to register their vessels in Pan ama to evade stiff U.S. and Britis maritime regulations and demand of seamen's unions. About 50 ships, totaling 2,700,000 tons ar now credited to Panama, bringin a substantial windfall tc the na tion's treasury

German PWs Prefer France

Almost 100,000 German prison ers of war in France want to mak their permanent homes there. Mos of them are farm workers and th rest miners or builders. The PW will fill ⅓ of France's need for a additional 300,000 men, under th Monnet Plan. There are 445,00 PWs in France and already permis sion has been granted to 21,000 t stay on as free workers.

lobal Shorts

South Korea's interim govern-ent has agreed to barter 700 tons Korean tungsten for 3,000 bales Egypt's long-staple cotton—a on-profit transaction between the vo governments. . . . Japan wants buy plumbago and bristle fiber om Ceylon. . . . A Calcutta hos-tal has ordered a million-volt -ray unit believed to be the first all Asia and one of the first 10 12 in the world. . . . Tropical asses of Indonesia have been ed by two Dutch scientists to ake the first synthetic Vitamin A a vitamin which previously had be extracted from fish oils. . . . ne of the first courses on Tibetan lture to be offered by an Ameri-n university is that given at Yale Professor Li An-cho, noted Chi-se scholar who lived for years on e Tibetan border. . . . World's ggest taxpayer for 1947 is ex-ected to be Emperor Hirohito, hose staggering tax of 42 million

llars represents 90 per cent the value of his property. . . . eningrad University geophysicists ith electrical equipment have suc-eded in drilling through the crust the earth to a depth of 20 miles, ½ miles deeper than anyone er drilled before. . . . Many of urkey's pilgrims this year ar-nged to make the sacred pilgrim-e to Mecca by airplane.

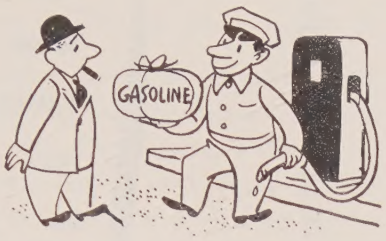
eward for Working Cats

In New Zealand, working cats o keep commercial warehouses

e of rats and mice, get ration kets for six-pennyworth of meat veek at the butcher's. Household ts are denied all ration privileges.

Gasoline by the Bagful

"Packaged gasoline" may be the answer to the fuel storage problem. This invention of French chemist Pathus-Labour has the further virtue of being almost 100% non-inflammable. Perfected during the



war, the "bags" are made of "carburolithe," a cellulose which hardens into a thin, transparent film around the gasoline. Unable to bear the expense of research, the French Government has asked the United States to perfect the device.

A Queen Gives Away Her Crown

When Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, Empress Menen, wife of Haile Selassie, took shelter in Jerusalem. She promised that if her country was delivered from its enemy, she would give her golden, jewel-encrusted crown to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Recently a special representative from Addis Ababa in Jerusalem presented the crown to Greek Orthodox Patriarch Timothy to be installed in the Church. Built over the site of Christ's birthplace the Church is owned jointly by the Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Armenian Churches. Empress Menen is a member of the Coptic Church in Ethiopia.

Glaciers Going

For the past 10 years, temperatures in Scandinavia have been rising and icebergs in the Arctic have been shrinking at an alarming rate, according to Norwegian Professor H. W. Ahlmann. He predicts that in a few generations, all glaciers in the North will have disappeared. The climatic change is speeding up Scandinavian fir tree growth and boosting its timber output by one million cubic meters a year. Next year, Norway, Sweden and Britain will send a joint expedition to the Arctic to study the origin of this phenomenon.

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introductions

JLES ARCHER ..... *author of "Herbert Evatt of Australia," P. 38*

Jules Archer says he "helped along the One World policy by marrying an Australian girl." He spent four wartime years in the southwest Pacific, and 1945, after his army discharge, discussing Australian-American relations with Prime Minister Chifley, Dr. Evatt and other prominent Australians. He has written many magazine articles on the down-under continent.

IN TAIYI *author of "The Change," P. 35*

the age of 20, Lin Taiyi is already following in the footsteps her famous father, Lin Yutang. She has had four books and merous magazines published, and traveled extensively. Durg the war she served as a lieutenant in the Chinese Medical orps. In 1945-46 she taught Chinese to American officers at ale University. She has also translated books from the Chinese.

EONARD HARRIS *author of "Christmas Traditions," P. 16*

Leonard Harris, associate editor of *Varsity Magazine*, a new publication, was formerly a free lance writer—with a range from comic strips to foreign correspondence. He served with the Armed Forces Radio Service in India and China during the war, and before that was head of the Treasury Department's War-Bond Campaign in schools and colleges the nation over.

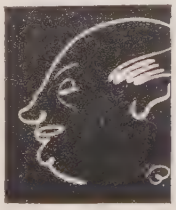
ALPH GUSTAFSON *author of "Carioca Commentary," P. 27*

orn in Canada, educated at Oxford, Ralph Gustafson is the thor of three books of poems, and several anthologies of anadian literature. He became interested in Brazil when asgned to do stories on that country for the Canadian Broadsting Company and the *Correio da Manha* of Rio. The music Brazilian Heitor Villa-Lobos is one of his favorite subjects.

LICE PAYNE HACKETT ..... *author of "Books for Christmas," P. 60*

A native New Yorker, Alice Payne Hackett was graduated from Wellesley College and Columbia University School of Journalism. As an editor of *Publisher's Weekly* she sees a large percentage of books published in the United States and reads quite a number. She has written many magazine articles and a book *Fifty Years of Best Sellers*, covering the period 1895-1945.

SCAR BERGER ..... *illustrator of "International Primer," P. 22*



scar Berger began drawing at the age of three and had his st book published when he was seven. He is probably the only ricaturist who has obtained sittings from such personages FDR, Hindenburg, Haile Selassie, Churchill, the Pope, Molov, GBS, Benes, Queen Wilhelmina, Bevin, Pavlova, Toscanini. is new book, "Aesop's Foibles," will be published shortly.

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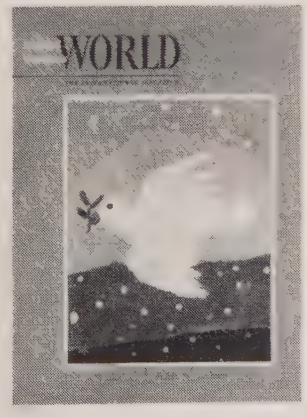

For story about 9 yr. old artist Jones, see p. 64

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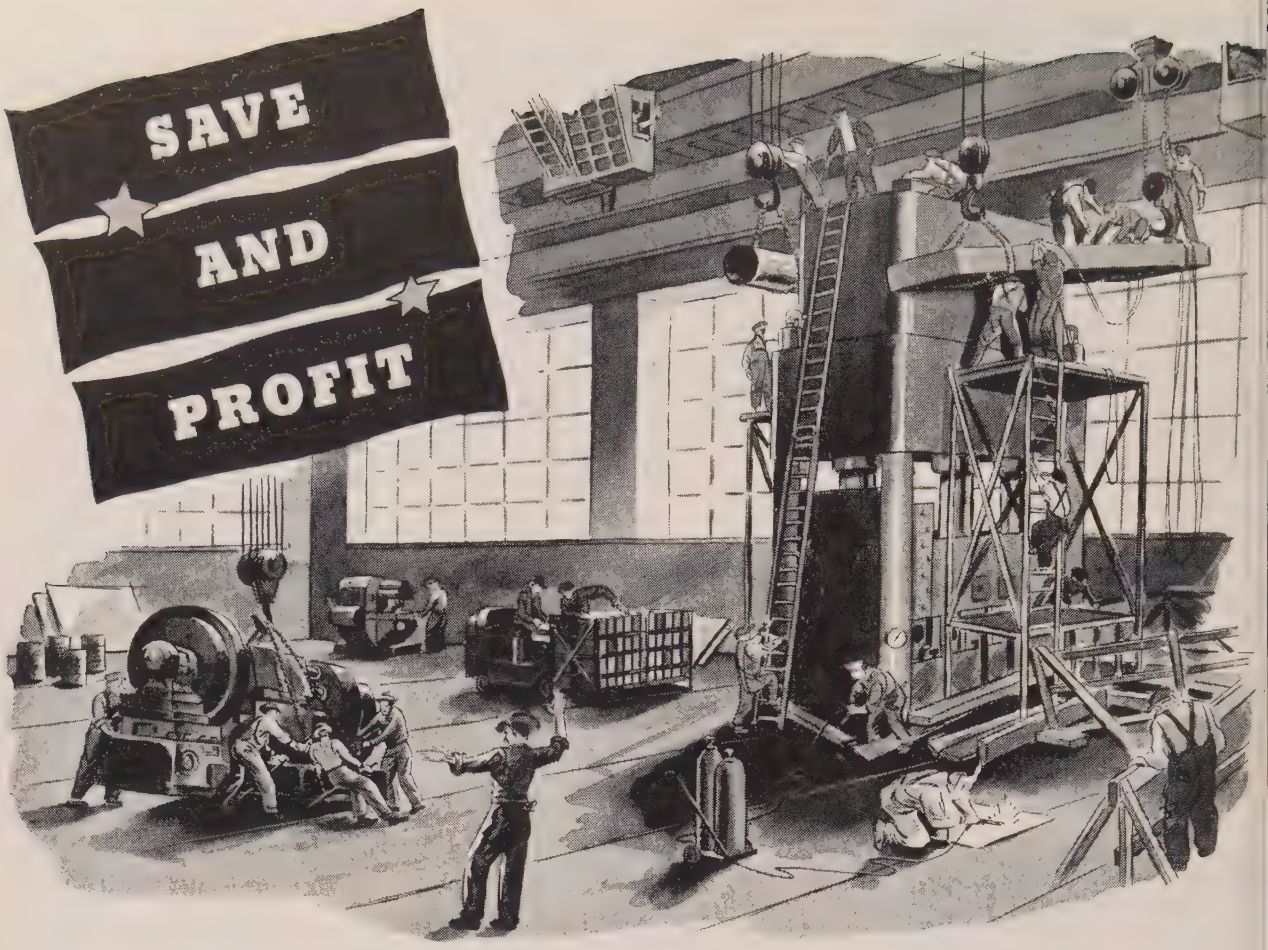

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The tremendous gains made by he French Peoples Rally in France's municipal elections has gain projected its leader, Gen. Charles De Gaulle, into the forefront of political controversy in Europe. The leader of the Free French Forces and former head of the French Government is hailed by his friends as the "saviour of French democracy" and by his enemies as the "new man on horseback" and a neo-Fascist. UNITED NATIONS WORLD presents two opposing viewpoints. By their own request, the authors must remain anonymous, but astute observers should be able to identify two of France's political personalities.

This Man De Gaulle

"France's Hope!" *says "Gallus," prominent De Gaullist aide*

THE French political atmosphere has completely changed since the municipal elections. Even before he elections there were straws in the wind portending his change. Impartial diplomats and journalists have noticed the great success of the meetings staged by he "French Peoples Rally" (De Gaulle's movement) n the provinces as well as in Paris.

Since then the results of the elections have become nown, and have given additional impetus to the novement. The snowball is growing into an avalanche. The meaning of the French municipal elections has een at times falsely interpreted abroad. It has been ointed out that the Rally drew all the former voters rom the parties of the Right, leaving the strength of he Left substantially unchanged. This appraisal is very inexact. The famous "Red Belt" of Paris has been profoundly shaken by the success of the Rally, which has captured some municipalities outright and was instrumental in wresting control of others from the Communists. Fifty-two out of the ninety-two main administrative centers of France had elected mayors owing allegiance to the "French Peoples Rally".

Indeed, while the former electoral system tended inevitably to crystallize two antagonistic blocs in France, one can say that today France is composed on the one hand of the "French Peoples Rally"; on the other of a diminished Socialist Party (which tends inevitably, as do all the other parties on its Right—Republican Socialist Party, Radical Socialist Party, the MRP, the Republican Party of Liberty—toward

a crack-up, to the benefit of the "French Peoples Rally") and the Communist Party which is losing momentum. The Communist Party's new tactics in joining the recently established international Communist Information Bureau isolate it from the Socialist Party and impair the continuation of its predominance in the trade unions. Indeed, it would be erroneous to believe that a movement which at this moment animates the French people—who only yesterday were so apathetic, so disillusioned, so discouraged—does not have a profound influence on the working masses. While old hands at political maneuvering who, alas, are not all communists, may endeavor to maintain the status quo, the workers themselves view with growing lassitude a tyranny which only collective fear was able to impose.

In this regard, it is interesting to stress the recent declarations of General Charles De Gaulle as to his trade union policies. "It is indispensable," De Gaulle stated, "that those who work organize—as envisaged by republican laws since 1884—to assert their professional interests, but also to contribute their constructive cooperation toward increased productivity and development of the French economy.

"At the present time it is only too clear that the trade unions are an exclusive feudal domain and, may I add, a feudal domain under the thumb of a foreign party. Thus it is necessary to wrest the trade unions from those who abuse them to serve political ends, and to restore them to the crafts, where they rightfully belong.

"Trade unions should be associations, groups, instruments of professional action. How is this achieved? The first condition is to impose—I insist on the term—to impose a free, secret and universal election on the working premises of those who are called upon for the honor and responsibility—for it is both an honor and a responsibility—of representing the comrades of their profession. The second condition is to compel those who present themselves as spokesmen for their comrades in a trade, to be workers in that trade. There are safeguards which a state must impose.

"When the French trade unions have once more become free and professional, France will be able to rely on them, not only to insure the defense of the professional interests of their constituents but also to cooperate directly in the reconstruction and renovation of the French economy." This is a program whic any independent French worker can support.

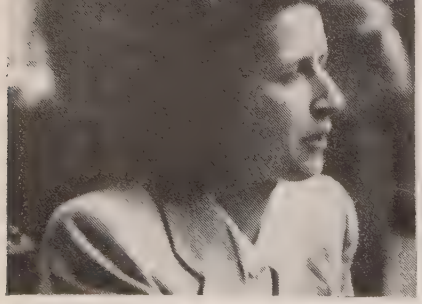
Gen. De Gaulle was asked what he thought of th "Third Force"—that is, the coalition of th MRP (whose parliamentary representatives have bee deprived of popular following) and the Socialist part (whose representatives are without doctrine)—whic continues to hold the reins of government with th support of an Assembly which no longer truly repr sents the country.

"This Third Force," said the General, "is a comb nation of politicians. I do not believe that tomorrov when the country will of necessity have to be co sulted, that this combination which rests on the su total of two parties can rally between them more tha four million French voters. The Republic is the peopl No government can represent the Republic if th people are not behind it.

"But the present economic and financial situatio makes it necessary to have the people behind one t make the slow and hard effort which is imperativ today. One must now establish the conditions neces sary for stability in action. What has characterize the French governments in the last two years has bee stability in impotence."

And yet, in order to balance the budget one mus reduce the expenditures of the State by one-thir That can be accomplished only by a strong govern ment. By putting an end to unbalanced budgets, an also by increasing French industry, it will be possibl to restore confidence in our money. In other words, a end must be put to the disequilibrium of wages, price and markets. This unbalance, against which any pres ent combination of politicians would be impotent, n doubt will lead the French Assembly to request it own dissolution after adoption of a new electoral la —replacement of proportional representation by majority system—the wish of the majority.

Thus a new Chamber could be elected, in which strong majority would be characterized by disciplin and a doctrinary unity in line with French nationa interests. Suffice it to say that the action which suc a government could undertake is already having pro found repercussions outside of France. For at last i will bring with it the hope that Europe will be built o a sound foundation with the cooperation of a reunite French people.



The younger de Gaulles: Genevieve, imprisoned by Nazis, Elizabeth, Mme. de Boissieu, Philippe who prefers the Navy to politi

'Democracy's Menace!" *says "Publicus," French liberal statesman.*

THE greatest tragedy that has happened to France since the liberation is the fact that General De Gaulle has turned rightist. Already in London and Algiers, where General De Gaulle was heading the Free French Movement and later in Paris where he was head of the Provisional French Government, many of his liberal-minded associates made considerable attempts to convince General De Gaulle that because of his very prestige, he had no right to adopt political beliefs which are opposed by the overwhelming majority of the French people. They drew his attention both to historical facts and to present day occurrence in France in order to convince him that no self-respecting French political party could ever accept the idea that Parliament, the most sacred institution of French political life is to be reduced to a mere rubber stamp.

The General began to give indications of his anti-parliamentary and anti-political-party trends since January 1945 and began to extol the presidential system of the United States, despite the fact that he had no particular liking for the U. S. president at that time. But the above-mentioned associates then tried to convince him that one could not compare the American and French systems and above all that General De Gaulle's ideas as they emerged were in reality going much further than the presidential powers in the United States. Nevertheless, despite all the efforts of the parties of the Center and the Left to reach a working agreement with General De Gaulle, one day he purely and simply walked out of the government and left behind him a most unsatisfactory economic situation and almost absolute financial chaos. Since the General left the presidency of the Provincial Government, the Rightists who had opposed him in the past and the Vichyites who had condemned him to death during the war, have gradually rallied around him.

It is undeniable that the General has constantly refused to make clear his fundamental position on the three basic problems of democratic liberty—on the freedom of the individual, the rights of trade unions and the unimpeded functioning of political parties. As a matter of fact since his considerable victory at the municipal elections, his statements on employer-employee relations amount in practice to the concept of corporate estate as applied by Mussolini in Italy. The very fact that the General has presented such ideas, that his only concrete political program was the fight against Communism and an alliance against Russia has been responsible for the sweeping flow of Rightists to his ranks.

IT IS too early to say and there is no documentary proof as yet in existence which indicates that the General has definitely decided on the concept of extreme Rightism and neo-Fascism. However, in order to have absolute guarantees on this subject, the Socialist and other democratic parties of France would have to have many more assurances from the General as to his ultimate objectives before they could even enter into an alliance with him. If he tries to govern without them, then he will of necessity be obliged to exercise personal powers. After all, the basic fact remains that the Socialist and Communist Parties together have not lost votes. As General De Gaulle has automatically excluded in advance any government participation of the Communists, he could only be the head of a coalition government. However, no democratically-minded leader of France will enter into such a government if there is danger that General De Gaulle would try to govern by anti-parliamentary measures. Furthermore, in order to facilitate a coalition under him, General De Gaulle would have to make a much stronger break with the extreme Rightists and Vichyites.

Most people are afraid that it is too late and that he has gone too far both in the evolution of his personal thinking and in his day by day alliance with the Right. Should General De Gaulle attempt to come to power by a coup d'etat, then the country will be automatically in a state of civil war and to an almost insurmountable suffering, new miseries would be added. If he wants to come to power by electoral means, then he must, like anyone else, create a regular political party, present a clear program to the country and try to win the support of the French people. Otherwise, the General, if he continues in the present way, is in danger of achieving the exact opposite of the anti-Communist program on which he is riding. For in the face of the danger of a new Fascism in France, the leftist and Communist Parties would again unite as in the past.

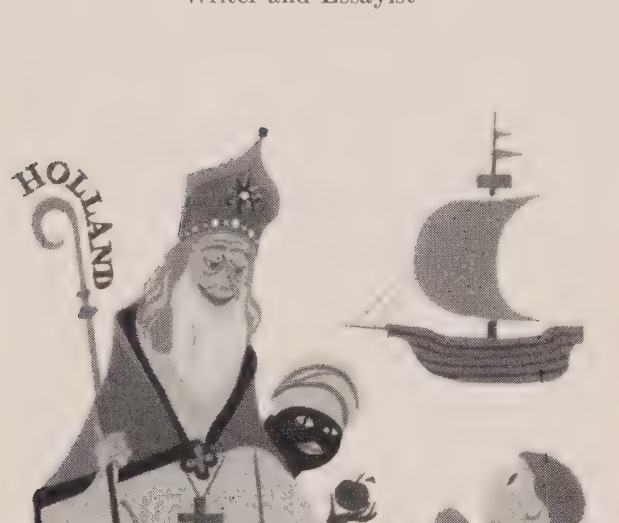
De Gaulle's appearance often results in impromptu demonstrations for and against him

De Gaulle and wife vote in recent election

Christmas Traditions

Solemn or gay, each country has its own way of celebrating the holiday.

BY LEONARD HARRIS
Writer and Essayist



Illustrations by Ginnie Hoffman

THERE is a community spirit, a oneness in the wo at Christmas time. Yet the traditions of ea country's holiday season, even the very mood of observances, are as widely different as the langua in which Christmas prayers are spoken.

The visitor to another land—or even another pr ince—finds almost every aspect of the holiday a n one: the day on which the season begins, the hour which the family sits down to its supper, the food t is set on the table, the decorations that have be placed in each room, the games that are played, t legendary personages awaited by children, the fo lore that is acted out—the ways, finally, in wh Christ's birth are recalled and revered.

Some fetes are solemn, some gay. The earthiness a few captures all the simplicity of Bethlehem; in dental, fun-making aspects of others have beco deep-rooted conventions. Some spring from the lo liness of cold, nomadic winters. Some leap from t beneficent warmth of tropical climates. And so combine pious remembrance with the flashing co and the exciting music of street celebrations.

It's that way in Mexico. For nine days bef Christmas, village and city streets are lined w stands that have been vividly arrayed with figures Mary, Joseph, and the Holy Child. Tiny represen tions of the animals present at the Manger are a displayed; and with them, earthenware pots t have been fashioned into grotesque and florid mas

These are the symbols used during the nine-day c ebration of *Las Posadas,* or *The Inns.* Each night t related families and friends of a neighborhood gat in a different home, first to worship—then to si dance, and feast. Together they commemorate t journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem; and on Chri mas Eve, they enact both the journey and the mirac

In a room lighted with candles and hung w green vines and flowers, the celebrants wait for priest to lead their devotions. When he comes th kneel about him, listening to the prayer he reci and at his signal they rise in a procession behind hi

The host and his wife, or often their children, ca a twig-covered litter supporting a clay figure of t Virgin Mary, seated on a burro; a Joseph, walki near her; and an angel, watching over them.

The little group marches from room to room, ca dles and litter held high. At each doorway they pau repeating Joseph's quest for lodging; and at each d they are refused. But admittance is granted wh they reach the last room of the house. And there, w tender reverence, they place the images for the nig

An *Ave Maria,* an *Our Father*—and then the gam begin! The garish earthen pots, called *Pinatas,* filled with sugar-candy, luck charms, gum-drops, a fruit. Suspended from the ceiling, they swing to a fro while blindfolded children strike wildly at th with wooden clubs. A lucky blow brings down a sho er of goodies—and then the whooping youngst move on to other targets. In the streets hang more the rocking, grinning masks—while beneath the young couples dance. At midnight there is the cra and color of fireworks, the clanging of bells, the sh sound of whistles; and in the homes, stacks of pa cakes called *bunuelos,* to be eaten with a rich bro sugar sauce.

In Poland, the children rush outdoors as soon as the sun falls, waiting impatiently for the first faint glimmer of an evening star to announce the beginning of Christmas Eve festivities. The star's appearance means that a beautiful angel has just entered their homes with gifts for all, and that their all-day fast is ended.

The family sits down to the *wigilia,* a special nine-course dinner consisting—in saner times—of four kinds of fish; soup, poppy-seed, and noodles. An even number of people are seated at the table: an odd number tokens trouble for the coming year, and if one person cannot attend, another must be found to take his place. One chair must be left empty for departed souls who may want to join the family at dinner. And there must be hay and straw on the table to remind the celebrants of the bareness of the Manger.

At dinnertime, the Polish family makes a ceremony of the *oplatek,* a thin white wafer blessed with Holy Water by a parish priest. It must be tasted by every living being in the household; and on a farm, even pigs, cows and chickens.

Christmas Day itself is a time for mummery. One boy masquerades as the devil, and is dressed in black—except for a long red tail and sharp red horns. Another child is gowned in white, and carries a silver star fastened to a twig. Others disguise themselves as Herod, or as Death, or as the Three Wise Men. And in their homes they act out legendary Nativity plays, reciting verses old as their country. Christmas Day ends with the singing of a Chopin hymn. *Lulujze Jezuniu,* the Polish family sings—*Sleep, Jesus, Sleep.*

Sweden's holidays begin on December 13, St. Lucia's Day—the long, dark day on which, in times gone by, the threshing was finished. Evil spirits were thought to be abroad on this day; and as protection, the farmers carried candles and torches when they went in the fields.

Before dawn, the daughter of the house gowns herself in a flowing white dress, placing on her head a whortleberry wreath with a circle of seven small flaming candles. She carries a tray of *lussikatter,* cookies in the form of a cat, with raisins as eyes. The girl awakens the members of her family, giving each of them a cookie—and assuring them that this is to be a long, happy holiday.

Christmas sausages of barley, pork and liver are made on that day; gingerbread goats, in memory of Thor's sacred goats; loaves in the shape of a boar's head; headcheeses; and *lutefisk,* a sun-dried fish that is first boiled, and served with cream sauce and spice.

By December 22, most preparations are finished—and most people sing the "Dunking Song": *It's the day before the dunking day!* Dunking is a Christmas Eve custom, in which the entire family assembles in the kitchen for the first course of dinner. The room is gay with colored streamers; and on the stove is a boiling pot of sausages and hams. Each person takes a slice of wort bread and dips it, dunks it again and again into the pot. It brings good luck. And it readies appetites for the *smorgasbord.*

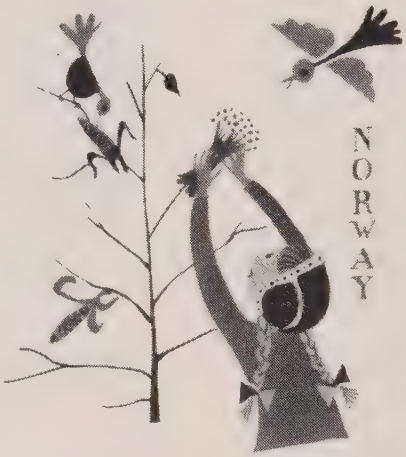
"Jultomte," a good-hearted gnome who lives beneath the house, and who—(the children are assured)—brings good fortune, is also fed on Christmas Eve by anxious youngsters who set steaming bowls of hot

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

porridge outside their doors for him. In the morning the porridge is gone; but alongside the emptied dishes, the kind Jultomte has left toys.

THE American Santa Claus, the Belgian Saint Nick—the jolly, gift-giving, ruddy old gentleman of many countries—are all patterned after Holland's Sinter Klaas. Yet the Saint's day in the Netherlands is December 6—and Christmas itself is little more than a special Sunday, with the morning spent in church, and the children gathered to sing carols and gaze at the *kerstbooms,* decorated fir-trees that stand beside the altar. On Christmas afternoon, after a hearty lunch of stewed rabbits, Hollanders usually go to the canals for ice-skating.

The story they tell their children at that time is that Saint Nicholas has just arrived by boat from Spain. He wears brilliant red bishop's robes, carries a gleaming golden scepter, and has a huge and jewelled miter on his head. And at his side is tiny Black Peter, a mischievous little Moor who is servant, assistant, and friend. The Moor and the Saint, the legend relates, gallop through the cold night air on Sleipnir, their snow-white horse—pausing just long enough at each house to drop holiday presents down the chimney. When they have visited every home in Holland, they sometimes return to make a tour of childen's parties. If the boys and girls have been good all year long, Black Peter rewards them with candy; on the other hand, if they've been naughty, he teases them, tickles them, and threatens to carry them off in his "big black sack."



France begins its holiday season on Saint Barbara's Day, December 4. Children run to the woods at dawn, collecting laurel, holly, berries, and smooth, round stones. As the weeks go by they assemble the bits on a table, using flour-and-water paste to hold them together. The moss and the rocks become a hill in Bethlehem, the twigs become trees and foliage. For snow they use flour; for stars, scraps of silver paper. Meanwhile the girls cut and sew dolls—little images of Joseph, Mary, and the Infant Jesus. On Christmas Eve the children gather about the chimney; there, near the Yule log, they place their shoes—knowing that *Père Noël* will descend during the night, leaving special holiday playthings for them. There they burn the log and collect the ashes for luck. There on Christmas Day, they display the *crèche* they have been fashioning for so long. And there, finally, they join with their parents in a gay Christmas song: *"Nous étions trois bergerettes, Auprès d'un petit ruisseau. . ."*

There are presents for children and remembrances for oldsters at Christmas time in Italy—but among the others of the family, it is a solemn time devoted to prayer. As in France—as in many Latin countries in Europe and America—the children build replicas of the Manger for their family's devotions, carefully designing them during the nine-day Novena that comes before Christmas. There are no Christmas trees, no evergreens.

But there's gaiety on January 6, when Italy's children are rewarded for goodness. The *befana,* an old lady, comes at that time to give them presents. Fruit and candy for youngsters who have obeyed their parents—and lumps of coal, or a short black stick for the disobedient. In many homes the child stands blindfolded in front of his fireplace when the wizened old lady appears. And if he recites a fitting Christmas poem for her, she leaves a gift for him.

Russia's gift-giver is also an old woman—a wrinkled *babushka* who willfully misdirected the Wise Men as they journeyed to Egypt. Eternally repentant of her deed, she gives presents to all the children of the world at Christmas time. Red boots for the boys, golden slippers for girls are Babushka's favorite gifts—for these can be worn when the children go singing from house to house. And they can also be worn at the "Animal Carnival"—the colorful musical, dancing festival put on by young peasants who masquerade as monster goats, boars and birds.

All throughout the Slavic countries are found legends and traditions that parallel each other. Any dream on Christmas Eve will come true. There is a symbolism to the first person to enter a house on Christmas Eve. If it is a child, there will be good luck; if it is an old woman, the home will be noisy with quarrels. A male visitor means that female stock will predominate in the farmyard; a female visitor, the opposite.

The Czech farmer knows that he must give different types of food to the animals and to the "elements." The cattle are given cake; hens, peas; roosters, bits of garlic. Fish bones must be put on the ground for "the earth to eat," and bread and salt dropped down the well. For the winds, cake crumbs are left at crossroads, and the fire must not be forgotten, or allowed to die.

From hemisphere to hemisphere there are similarities—and slight differences that make the Christmas celebration constantly new and individual. Christians in China mark the beginning of the Christmas Mass with a blazing display of fireworks; and in Colombia on Christmas Eve, rockets and sparkles are sent swishing into the sky, while young men carry a framework of fireworks outlining a "crazy cow."

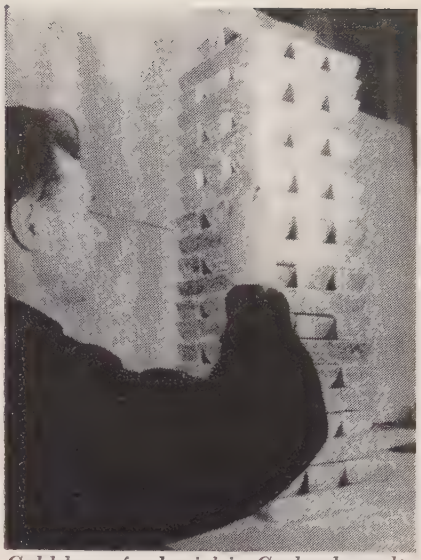
In Colombia, too, the youngsters make crèches—similar to the *presepi* made in Italy, the clay stables made in Austria, the Holy Mangers built by children in Brazil. America has borrowed from all of these countries: from pantomimes, holiday menus, roving groups of carol-singers in England; from decorations in the Netherlands; from Italy's pious devotions.

Christmas is a time when brothers celebrate—differently, perhaps, but to the same end.

Golden Bullets in the Cold War

The huge gold reserve secretly hoarded by the Kremlin is a powerful threat to the Marshall Plan

BY CHARLES PRINCE
Former Specialist on Soviet Economic Problems for U.S. Chamber of Commerce



Gold bars, for burial in Gosbank vaults

THE Soviet Union has a secret economic weapon at its disposal for its all-out campaign against the Marshall Plan. It is the hoard of gold buried in the vaults of the State Bank (Gosbank) of the U.S.S.R. This is the hard economic reality behind Col. Gen. Andrei A. Zhdanov's threat this September that, "the U.S.S.R. will do everything in its power to foil the Marshall Plan."

Exactly how big the Soviet gold hoard is, nobody outside the Soviet Union knows. Beyond the statement that it is the world's second largest gold reserve official sources in Washington, New York, London, Paris and Zurich are unwilling to go. The best informed opinion is that it is certainly worth more than $3 billions, and probably not more than $17 billions. The U.S. reserve is $22 billions.

Armaments of the "cold" economic war are as closely guarded in the Soviets as are the weapons of a shooting war. On June 4, 1947, the Kremlin issued a decree which placed information on the "state of currency funds, on the current account balance and operative financial plans of the U.S.S.R." in the top category of the highest state secrets. Similarly classified as top secrets, together with bona fide military information, is "information on the place and system of safekeeping and transportation of precious metals of the State Fund, currency valuables, and money coins."

One of the reasons why the Soviet Union has so far refused to join the International Monetary Fund and World Bank is her reluctance to comply with one of the requirements for admittance—the revelation of existing gold reserves in Soviet vaults.

Geologists hunting gold can make huge fortunes by discovering rich deposits

THE recent Kremlin decree merely formalizes the secretiveness with which gold production and reserves have been surrounded since 1937. In that year, the Russian secret police, NKVD, received orders to round up and confiscate all copies of a book entitled *On the Gold Front,* written the year before by Professor Alexander P. Serebrovsky, founder and general manager of Soyuz Zoloto, the U.S.S.R.'s gold combine. Simultaneously, the publication of all records on production in the U.S.S.R.'s widely scattered gold fields was suspended and dispatches reporting on new discoveries, speed-ups and other developments of the "gold front" were suppressed.

The threat of the Soviet Union's gold was recognized as early as 1939 by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., then Secretary of the Treasury, when he voiced the warning: "Should the United States and the U.S.S.R. be the only important holders of gold after World War II, the U.S.S.R. might decide to upset the world market of gold and deliver a serious blow to capitalist economy." And again, in 1940, highly placed officials of the U.S. Treasury said, "In any but Soviet hands, so much gold would not be disturbing."

If the gold piled in the vaults of the Irkutsk and Kazan branches of the Gosbank constitutes a threat to capitalistic economy, the Soviet

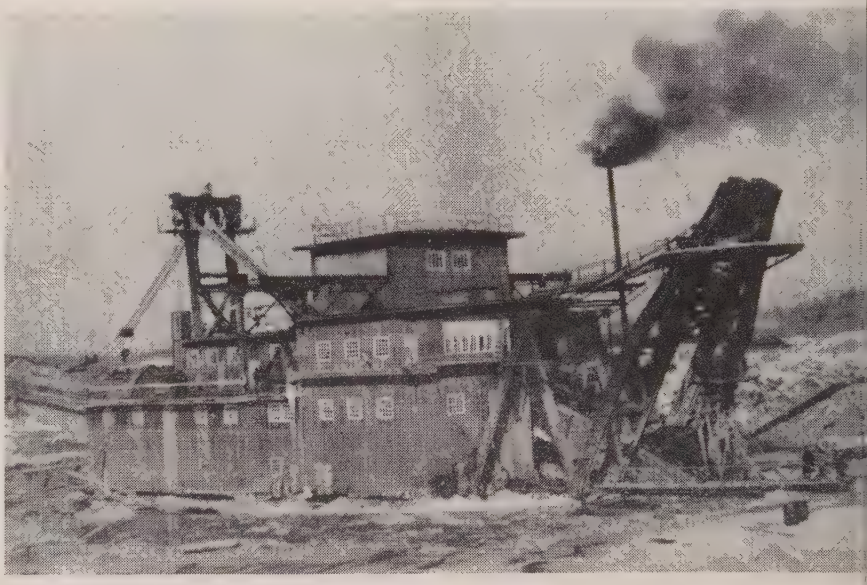
Prospecting "artels" pan many streams

government is doing everything in its power to increase it. Even the most stringent security regulations cannot conceal the fact that the Soviet Government is promoting gold production by every means available to it against the day of economic battle with the U.S.

Clear-cut recognition of the importance of the weapon appears in the recent announcement that the United States would use its own gold reserve, now amounting to the fabulous sum of 22 billion dollars, to fight off any Soviet attack. Washington officials described the essence of the American gold plan as follows: the Truman administration will ask Congress to authorize the establishment of a European stabilization fund of 3 billion dollars to be administered by the Treasury. Actual bullion will be shipped to the various Marshall Plan countries in Europe for use as reserve whenever it becomes necessary to back up currencies.

THE man behind the Soviet gold rush is Premier Joseph Stalin himself. According to Professor Serebrovsky, the Soviet leader became interested in gold in 1926 after reading two books, the first by the French writer Blaise Cendrars called *Sutter's Gold*, and the second a history of California by T. E. Ricker. At that time Soviet gold reserves had dwindled to a dangerous low and production failed to compensate for the rapid depletion of existing reserves. Stalin decided to reserve the Soviet Union's gold policy and institute a speed-up in the mines. He summoned Professor Serebrovsky to the Kremlin and told him that he was impressed by the role gold played in the economic development of the United States.

Serebrovsky was instructed to go to the U.S. to study American methods of gold mining and introduce them into the Soviet Union to organize the Soyuz Zoloto, to equip all mines with the most modern machinery; and to speed up gold production so as to make the U.S.S.R. the greatest producer of gold in the world.



Soviet gold mines are modern and heavily mechanized. Above: a powerful dredg

THE subsequent development of Russian gold industry was one of the most sensational features of the various Five Year Plans. In 1926, the Soviet Union ranked fifteenth among the gold producing countries of the world. In 1936, she moved up to second place, and in 1940, claimed to occupy first place, surpassing even the huge gold output of the Transvaal in South Africa.

Probably the most dramatic feature of this development was the encouragement of gold prospecting by a system of incentives suspiciously similar to those of the free enterprise nations. An army of gold seekers was organized in the Prospectors' Department of the Gold Combine. Prospectors were formed into groups of two or three, called *artels*, transported to regions where gold deposits were suspected, and ordered to find gold. Discoveri were rewarded by lavish gifts a bonuses. Some artels were paid much as 30,000 rubles in gold sc for even minor discoveries. T *artel* which discovered the Okhot field in 1936 earned 100,000 rub in gold.

The Okhotsk field ranks with t Yukon in wealth. It is situated 1 miles north of the town of Okhot on the sea of the same name. Wh the team of prospectors report their discovery to the Soyuz Zolot the rush was on. By the end 1937, no less than 60,000 worke were sent to the region, workin day and night on the exploitatic of the deposits under the superv sion of the U.S.S.R.'s foremost go engineers, Medvedeff and Berzin.

The opening up of the Okhots field climaxed a series of slight less important discoveries. Go was found in quantities near Mou Stalin in the Pamir Mountain near Berezovsk in the Urals; ne Dalonega in Georgia; in Weste Siberia, along the Yenisei River; Kazakhstan; along the Amur Riv close to the Manchurian border.

The few American experts w were permitted to visit these go mines prior to the introduction the strict security measures repo that they are of the most mode design, capable of top-level produ tion. One of the mines on the Ba kal Sea, discovered two years aft Stalin embarked on his gold pr gram, was fully mechanized 1933, equipped with two lar cyanide plants and steam turbin

to supply power. By 1937, the U.S.S.R. had no less than 144 such fully mechanized gold mines. The present number is probably in excess of 200. New mines are being opened almost every month and at the time of this writing special attention is being paid to unmapped gold deposits at Balay, beyond Lake Baikal on the Shilka River.

THIS intense activity skyrocketed gold production. Between 1927 and 1936, the U.S.S.R. produced 26,000,000 ounces and according to the last published reports of the Soyuz Zoloto, production was increased by 46 per cent between 1935 and 1936. With all

Miner Kabireva and hydraulic drill

Stakhanovites in the Lenin Gold Mine

gold production statistics abruptly discontinued in 1937, the increased production can only be guessed at. Estimates of the Bank of International Settlement and the Banque de France establish the 1938 haul as between 5,173,000 and 7,230,000 ounces. If, as the Russians insist, they have surpassed the gold production of the Transvaal, they would be producing today well in excess of 10,000,000 ounces a year, or more than $350,000,000. This compares with current U.S. production of 6,003,000 ounces and the Canadian output of 5,311,000 ounces in 1940.

HOW much gold, then, does the Soviet now have? Several "informed" estimates have been published within the last few years. The highest of these set the amount at $17 billion, more than three-quarters of the U.S. total. This estimate is based on the assumption that the U.S.S.R. inherited the total gold reserve of Tsarist Russia, including its secret "Holy Gold Fund" established in the days of Peter the Great, and added to it millions of additional ounces confiscated from private hoards. The lowest estimate, that of the Banque de France, is calculated an the assumption that the Soviet Union collected only $235,000,000 worth of gold from Tsarist and private sources. Adding to it the production of its mines and $57,400,000 said to have been acquired from Republican Spain, and subtracting the quantities exported for various economic and political purposes, the bank concluded that the Soviet Union's present gold reserve amounts to $3,5 billion.

Most likely guess is that it lies somewhere between these two extremes. The gold in Russian vaults is probably in excess of $5,000,000,000, and continues to increase by leaps and bounds as production is speeded up and exports throttled. It is probable that by 1967 the Soviet Union's gold reserve will equal or surpass that of the U.S.

MEANWHILE, the Soviet's grand gold strategy, as indicated in the articles by Soviet economists, Y. Vintser, S. N. Prokopovitch and V. Mikhailovsky is to combat and foil the Marshall Plan by stabilizing the ruble on a gold basis. Russia could establish a tight ruble area within her orbit and in the rest of the world, her currency pegged to gold, could effectively compete with the dollar and certainly displace the pound sterling in crucial trade areas. This move would interfere with the present monopoly of the dollar in international exchange and eventually affect the price structure of the international market.

By offering large quantities of gold rubles, or the actual metal itself, the Soviet government could not only purchase goods and materials which it needs, but also force up the price of those goods and materials in terms of dollars and pounds. Countries exporting goods to the U.S.S.R. under such arrangements could then use the gold to buy commodities freely on the world markets—purchases not envisaged in the finely balanced arrangements proposed by the Marshall Plan. The end result would be that the Soviet Union would acquire valuable goods at low cost (since it does not reckon costs in its own gold production) and weaken the influence and control which U.S. economic interests exercise in various parts of the world.

As an alternative, the Russians may decide not to dump the gold, but to withhold it from the world market, or to alternate the two courses of action to fit world conditions at a given moment. For the withholding of gold may be used as a weapon, too. The Russians are in a position to exclude it as a medium of international exchange throughout one-fifth of the earth. They could thereby cause a serious disruption of the exchange of goods between the east and the west of Europe, thus retarding the reconstruction and recovery of the continent as a whole.

Whether the Russian gold hoard will be employed against the United States depends upon the state of relations between the two countries. If the present bitter antagonism continues, the Russians will certainly use it to attack the Marshall Plan, which they conceive to be directed toward American domination of Europe, and to speed the United States toward that depression which Soviet Professor Eugene Varga's Institute of World Economy declares is inevitable.

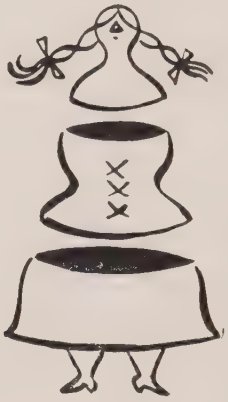
International PRIMER *for good little World Citizens*

Verse by Ron Schiller
Pictured by Oscar Berger

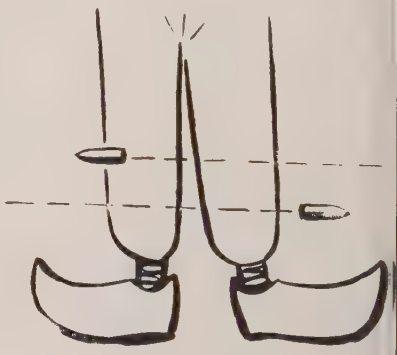
a is for Atom
the Bomb of the year

b is for Bevin
and Britain's weak be

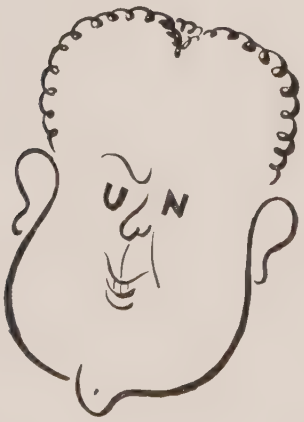
f is for Franco
and his Fascist cabal



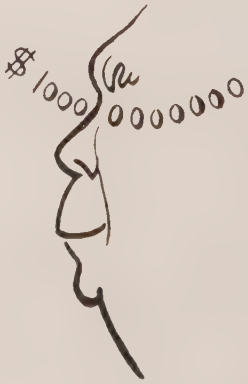
g is for Germany
in *tres partes divisa*



h is for Holland
"in Dutch" in Indones



l is for Lie (Trygve)
and the UN he heads

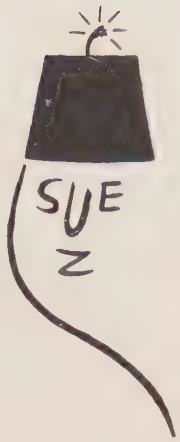


m is for Marshall
the Man of the Plan

n is for Nippon's new g
MacArthur *san*

c is for China
and her Kai-shek named
Chiang

d for DeGaulle
the new "Maid of Orleans"



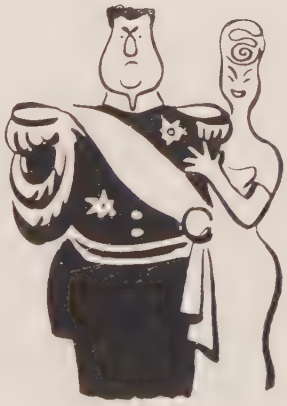
e is for Egypt
beside the Canal

i is for Italy
beset by inflation

j is for Jinnah
who chopped up a nation

k is for King Mike
of Rumania's Reds

o for Olympics
and the trouble they'll
foment



p is for Peron
Evita's big moment

q is for Quarrels
which the nations think
fun

r is for Roosevelt (Eleanor)
Lady Delegate No. 1

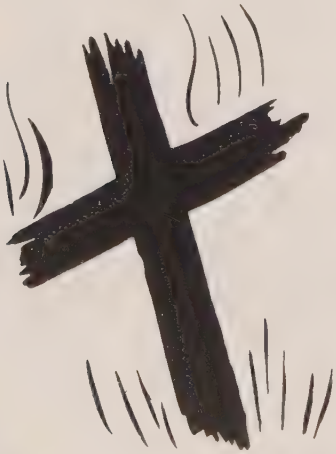
S is for Stalin
who issues decrees

t is for Tito
who always agrees

u is for Uncle Sam
rich, strong but fearful

V for Vishinsky
who gives him an earful

W for the next War
which must never



or
X marks the spot
of humanity's doom

y for bright Yuletide
may it never be dimmer

Z is the Zenith
—and the end of t
prim

State of the World

Inside reports and analyses of world events you may not find in your newspapers.

EAGER to test Heine's remark that "the only thing history teaches is that history teaches nothing," we decided to roll back time on a handy Recordak machine. We turned it back to 1920 on the microfilm pages of contemporary journals, to a period which, in theory at least, should resemble our present post-war world. The question to which we sought an answer was an intriguing one: Was the state of the world just two years after World War I better or worse than it is today?

Whatever else wars may bring in their wake, they certainly bring dislocations. It was in this mood that the French diplomat Cambon and that fabulous Russian, the Grand Duke Nicholas, once expressed their common hatred of war. The Frenchman hated war because it spoiled conversation. The Grand Duke hated it because it spoiled the Tsar's armies. Little people in their groping and inarticulate way hate war simply because it spoils peace.

The War After the War

Wars are like race horses. They gain momentum toward the end of the course and continue to run on, panting, long after the finish line is passed. In 1920, too, the morning after Versailles, the first World War was still running strong. There was violent fighting in the Soviet Union (which seems to be the perennial post-war enemy) and in Turkey. The western democracies, showing a remarkable ability to pick the loser, fought the Soviets and backed the Greeks in their war against the Turks of Kemal Pasha ("a harsh and unpleasant man," the British then called him). But in 1920, the Soviet Union was on the side of the Turks.

New nations were being exchanged for old, emerging from the ruins of defunct empires and superannuated dukedoms. New political parties were rearing ugly heads. In Italy, Mussolini's Fascism registered its 100,000th member. In Germany, the militarists had just hired Hitler as a labor spy.

India, let down by the unkept promise of independence, was slowly recovering from the frightful aftermath of the Amritsar Massacre. The British were fighting in Ireland, too. The Haganah there went by the name of Sinn Fein. But Lawrence's revolt in the desert produced a string of Arab countries as oil started gushing forth from wildcats in the sand dunes.

In 1920, too, the United States made two of its greatest legislative blunders. It introduced prohibition and rejected the League of Nations. In those days both moves were hailed as signs of American sobriety. But both led to drunken orgies of lawlessness, one at home, the other in the world at large.

Scorned by the absentee giant, the League experienced its first triumphs and suffered its first setbacks. The wartime allies were rapidly drifting apart. Now they treated the world to the spectacle of undignified wrangling over the spoils of their victory—reparations, territorial claims, colonies.

The great powers, suspicious and disillusioned, found that they could not discuss their affairs in the Council without the small fry butting in and frequently vetoing their decisions. "How utterly shocking," Sir Austen Chamberlain exclaimed, and moved to adjourn to Geneva hotel rooms, granting a new lease on life for secret diplomacy. But in the Assembly itself men appeared to whom a hopeful world listened with respectful attention: Benes of Czechoslovakia, Nansen of Norway, Branting of Sweden, Motta of Switzerland, Cecil of Britain, Briand of France, Politis of Greece.

And of course there were revolutions in South America. The dictator in Cuba was named Gomez.

Voice of the People

For the man twenty years hence who might want to roll time back to 1947, here are a few items he will find on his bigger and better Recordak machine.

Men and women, many of whom have never voted before, now flock to the polls. The fall of 1947 was particularly loud with the clamor of the *voces populi*, which Jefferson once described as "the voice of God himself." There were elections in France, in Britain, in Switzerland, in Denmark, in Norway, in Italy, in the U.S. and even in Transjordania.

The municipal elections in France brought a man, Charles de Gaulle (see page 27) galloping back on his figurative high horse. His victory, not over the Communists whom he claims to combat, but over the hapless middle parties, was described by the neighboring Swiss as a "blow to democracy." The communists held their own in France and Italy but lost heavily everywhere else. In Denmark their strength was halved, most of the communist votes going to the Socialists. In Switzerland they elected just six deputies to send the smallest party bloc to the state house in Berne. In Transjordan voting was a mere gesture even for the lower house, prearranged candidates winning in a landslide. The Upper House was appointed by the King. Inconclusive voting in the United States revealed considerable Democratic strength, as Dr. Gallup recorded nationwide majorities for Truman and his party. The man who was last year described as the one "most likely to be succeeded" now emerges as the candidate most likely to succeed himself.

British voters turned out in mass in the municipal elections to express what amounted to a yearning for Mr. Churchill's well-turned phrases and well-chewed cigar. Nobody knows how much repudiation

of Labor this unexpected vote contained. On the eve of the election, the Prime Minister expressed confidence in his Party's victory, only to wake up with a hangover the morning after. Attlee is not remarkable for his pre-election predictions. In 1945 he picked the Conservatives to win. The country swept Labor into power.

Duke Smith and Count Jones

Ernie Bevin turned a corner and donned the toga of liberalism on at least one international issue. In a series of conferences behind the closed doors of the Foreign Office, he mapped a plan to unseat Franco. The story of these secret palavers leaked to the Caudillo (he has many friends within the F. O.) and he promptly ordered his Foreign Office to protest against this new line of British policy. At the same time he told Premier Salazar of neighboring Portugal that he dislikes the freedom the Spanish pretender enjoys in his Lisbon exile to plot against the Madrid regime.

Madrid expects some fireworks before the year is out. Franco has decided to go a-wooing. He will grant Spanish titles of nobility to several Britons and Americans who distinguished themselves defending his regime. Duke Smith of Ayamonte or Count Jones of Aranjuez will lend a democratic note to the Spanish Almanach de Gotha.

Five Year Plan Number Four

Russia's industries are busy in the nation-wide competition to surpass the quotas of the Five Year Plan now moving toward its climax. On one day this fall the U.S.S.R. announced that it was outdistancing the quotas in meat deliveries, turbine production for the oil industry, in textile production, in oil yields around Baku, in bauxite production in the Urals, in sugar output, and in the manufacture of improved tractors. On the same day, the Wine and Liquor Ministry of the Georgian Soviet Republic announced that it got the spirit of the competition. It fulfilled its own quota by 100.8 per cent. Prosit!

The drone of these factories and mines supplied the accompaniment to the marchers on Red Square, celebrating the 30th anniversary of the October Revolution. Stalin was absent from the parade, but Molotov and Bulganin reviewed the marchers and addressed their countrymen with challenging speeches. Molotov even made an aside on the atomic bomb that was promptly blown up into 144 point headlines on the front pages of the American press. If his remark was meant as a kind of propagandistic Bikini test, it certainly hit its mark. But it failed to demolish the belief that the Russians still have a few years to go before they can register an explosion on the anxiously watched Geiger counters of the world rather than on its front pages.

Sweden appears to be leading in the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. With but limited facilities and a modest budget, her researches nevertheless make impressive progress—chiefly because the Swedes do not suffer from what psychiatrists call the A-bomb fixation. They are bent on producing atomic fuel as soon as possible, to relieve the country's disastrous coal and oil shortage. The men who gave us Electrolux and Ingrid Bergman may yet come through with the first atom-heated furnaces and atom-driven motor cars as well.

Guerilla Close-Up

In the meantime the civil war continued unabated in Greece. As the coalition government's amnesty offer appeared a failure, Athens announced that U. S. officers would be employed in the Greek General Staff and would also be assigned to combat units in the field. The guerrilla radio was quick to broadcast a warning. Quoting an order of the day issued by "General Markou," it reminded Athens that ELAS took no prisoners during its struggle against the Germans.

The man who issued this order, the legendary "Markou of the Mountains," is a former tobacco worker, born in 1906 in Theodosia Eparchy in Asia Minor. He joined the Communist Party in 1924 and advanced rapidly in its ranks. In 1935 he was in Moscow, attending the 7th (and last) Congress of the Comintern. He was elected a member of the Central Committee and sent back to Greece to organize the underground fight against the Metaxas regime. He played a prominent role in the Canea uprising on July 28, 1938, was captured, and exiled to one of the innumerable Greek penal colonies. In 1941, he escaped from the island to Salonika where he organized guerrillas to fight the Italians and the Germans.

It was in Salonika, four years later and after the liberation, that he again ran afoul the authorities. The Security Committee ordered his deportation but failed to find him to carry out the order. Markou was in the mountains, working hard to forge the various guerrilla forces into a single striking force under his own command. His rivals were defeated one after another and on October 28, 1946, he was the undisputed commander of all partisans.

His full name is Markou Vafiades. His idol is Josip Broz—the Croatian metal worker who became the Marshal of Yugoslovia under the name of Tito.

Permanent Revolution

The cause for which Markou is fighting inspired pitched battles from China to Chile in two hemispheres.

Chile broke diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Her example was followed by Brazil. The break came at the end of a bitter diplomatic argument over an article in a Soviet magazine attacking President Dutra for his acceptance of decorations from Hitler and Mussolini.

The Brazilian break had been expected ever since Dutra outlawed Brazil's Communist Party. It was followed by a legislative decision to expel the Communists from the Brazilian Congress. Carols Prestes, the communist leader whom Latinos call the "Knight of Hope," was still at large and while his expulsion from the Brazilian Senate was being decreed, he appeared in election meetings in several provinces defying the campaign against him and his Party. Prestes shared a platform with ex-dictator Getulio Vagas, hell-bent on making a comeback and allying himself with his former friend, then arch-foe, Communist Prestes, against another one of his former friends and subsequent arch-foes, Eurico Dutra.

Carioca Commentary

Rio de Janeiro is a city reluctant to sacrifice the present good to a problematical tomorrow.

BY RALPH GUSTAFSON

Author of *Flight Into Darkness*

"Pilots view Sugar Loaf mountain with something less than esthetic judgment—the conical rock looms directly in line with the civil airport runway a few seconds across the bay. . . . The city lies submissive between the flats of ocean and mountains."

GEOGRAPHY no longer has privacies. There are few travelers who do not know, or would set out if they did not know, the physical reality of the place to which they journey. Few now come to a place, however distant, without pictorial knowledge of it. The more private corners of the world have been photographed and displayed.

Reproduction has made Rio de Janeiro, perhaps as much as any other city in the world, a cliché in the prospective mind's eye.

The haphazard generosity with which nature has endowed Rio with hills makes landing from the air at night hazardous, and there are rules against it. Even in daylight, pilots view Sugar Loaf mountain in the heart of the city with something less than esthetic judgment—the conical rock looms directly in line with the civil airport runway a few seconds across the bay. A wisp of cloud around its peak makes pilots look twice. But there is the Galeao Air Force base—on an unobstructed island in Rio harbor. To land here, just before the tropical sun can breach the dark and take the city, is to know the physical grandeur of Rio—and to learn something of the secret of the inviolability and vision of the Brazilian spirit.

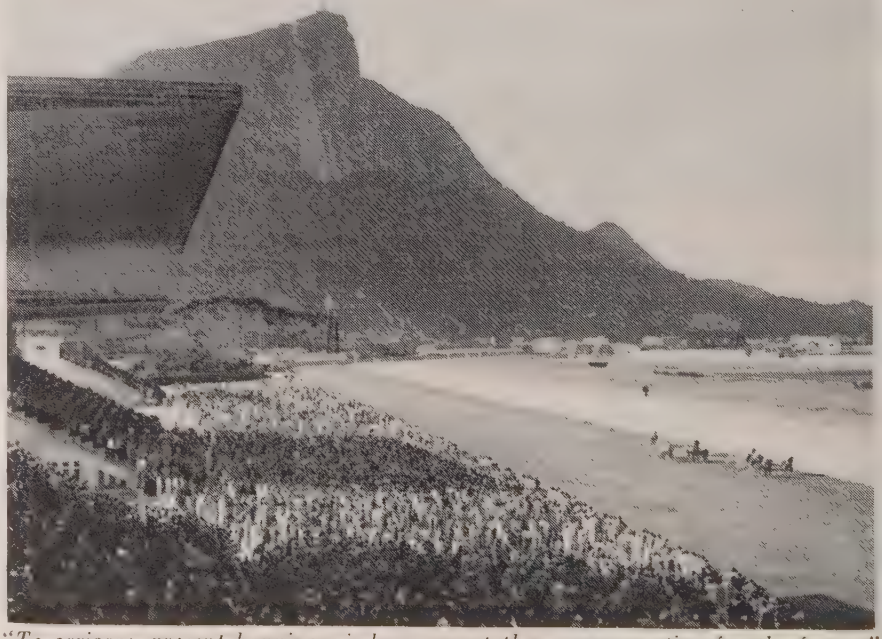
IMMEDIATELY, it is to experience emotions which our contemporary traffic leads us to believe man can well do without. The city lies submissive between the fiats of ocean and mountains from which its life is drawn. Perhaps tomorrow in the streets of the city such an experience of beauty and harmony between man and nature will be obscured; perhaps it is possible only at first and not again. Timing and perspective determine the consequence of travel. It is not easy to maneuver these factors into their happiest conjunction, but to ignore them leads to distorted conclusions. To arrive and leave Rio during the Carnival could be to conclude that the city is devoted to frivolity and the chief means of locomotion is the samba. To stop short at the *favelas* (slums) would be to have reality but leave the truth dislocated.

The inclusive perspective which Rio offers to the traveler is one of inexhaustible physical beauty, diversity, a paradox of excitement and repose—qualities never wholly obscured by the details of disharmony and defect which acquaintance with the city can muster against them. The defects of Rio, as its graces, are one with its geography. Incongruous skyscrapers have been forced up by the constricting hills whose beauty they now obscure. The pressure of modern traffic threatens the grace of the bays whose segments curve into the rhythm of its activity.

"Rio offers inexhaustible physical beauty, a paradox of excitement and repose."

THERE cannot be too large a measure of sunny license in making the climate responsible for that trait in the character of cariocas which most forcibly strikes a visitor—a reluctance to sacrifice enjoyment of the present good to a problematical tomorrow. To cariocas, the passage of time in present happiness is less suspect than anxious preoccupation for an "efficient" future. The attitude is infectious, and the visitor who lets himself have more than a nodding understanding of the city soon makes the discovery that he will tolerate much to maintain it.

The influx of people to Rio since the war has been tremendous and the city is bursting at the seams.



"To cariocas, present happiness is less suspect than preoccupation for the future."

The water supply is in the most inadequate state. The demolition preparatory to new housing gives Rio the appearance of a town recovering from bombardment. The conditions for transportation have reached the ridiculous. And yet for all that must and will be done for health and convenience, it is as if cariocas meanwhile refuse to allow their convictions of how life should be lived to be dislocated. An inch of water for the bathtub is regarded as a middling argument against the available acres of ocean and sun. The interference of a hill in schemes for housing or traffic does not suggest neurotic bulldozers but 20 men with 20 leisurely hoes. Streetcars bulge and groan with clambering humanity. If there is no handhold left on the open sides of the cars, there is always the scruff of a neighbor's neck.

THE larger fraction of those conditions for living against which the northern greenhorn would irritably protest, resolves itself in the carioca philosophy. The recipe would seem to be two parts wise humor to one part accommodating inefficiency. The northern "gogetter" and efficiency expert may find the dictates of competition and profit imperative. The carioca simply refuses to be the one controlled by circumstances. This may cost him less turn-over in more time but meanwhile, he points out, there is leisure to talk philosophy or art over a *cafezinho* in the boulevard cafes.

The wise humor and accommodating inefficiency which permeates the individual philosophy also appear to extend to general politics—a national pastime which cariocas play somewhat more roughly. It is the same spirit which finds expression in the fact that every statue in Rio, portentous or not, is slappingly painted with the current political slogan, and that in the most modern of skyscrapers all the elevators, even at the rush hours, solemnly go up and come down together. It must be admitted that much patience is required to make this spirit operative. Queues are everywhere to be seen in Rio—for daily bread as well as elevators.

The fund of patience with such phenomena as abolition of the Senate and no bread is great. It is as if Brazilians allow their political millstones to grind exceedingly small, knowing full well that many of the hazards of existence eliminate themselves in the attrition of time and that meanwhile the remaining desirable life need not be forfeited to the process.

IN this realm of politics too, the northern visitor soon becomes aware of a sensitive nationalism. Even well-meaning criticism is likely to prove of too abrasive a quality. In the most intelligent quarters, self-criticism frequently hoodwinks itself with the statement that Brazilians "imitate all the bad qualities of the United States." The old ghost of "yanqui imperalism" is far from exorcised—though the outlawed Communist Party has almost exclusively been rattling its chains.

The carioca's ability to exist in the present, his refusal to be harnessed in his own traces—these engaging qualities do not necessarily end, as might be supposed, in *laissez faire* or indolence. It would be a mistake to explain too much by his tolerant good humor or by his naive (among the social-psychologists, his sadistic) sense of seeing the funny side in some one else's misfortunes. He possesses a native exuberance but he is also introspective, melancholy. One need only listen to his music for the evidence. Brazil's great contemporary composer, Villa-Lobos, will provide chapter and verse: *Mandu-Carara* or *A lenda do Caboclo*—evidence as beautiful as it is conclusive of both.

History is against too ready an explanation of the Brazilian spirit. And, today, one cannot see the appearance and reappearance of such a slogan as "Up with the Constitution" on public monuments, or watch the queues for bread, without realization of a potential charge of energy, of insuperable will.

BRAZIL'S great social historian, Gilberto Freyre, places the source of this explosive force within the shadow of the jungle. The expressions of the Brazilian spirit today are dynamically progressive in ways that are making Brazil the safeguard for democratic evolution in South America. It would be as much a mistake as to lay the contrary evidences of apathy and indigence among the Brazilian population to a mixture of races rather than to the country's historical monoculture and malnutrition. One cannot associate oneself with a culture of such native energy, or with a society so free from racial prejudice and stupidities, without realizing that here are the beginnings of an ethnic democracy.

Every wall blossoms with political slogans.

Rio is a city as complex as it is exciting. There, one may not get a taxi but one gets the best of Brazil's writers in the pages of almost any of the city's 27 newspapers. One may not (currently) find a box of matches, yet find oneself without having to pay anything in a box of the Teatro Municipal and experience the whole of Brazil in Villa-Lobos' music. One may look at Rio and see *barracoes*, skyscrapers, electric signs despoiling its hills, and yet one knows that, like those of the city's patron saint, Sao Sebastiao, its wounds will not prove mortal.

Rio de Janeiro "is bursting at the seams."

The Battle Of Ideologies:

There are five major political ideologies represented within the United Nations, each trying to make its dogma understood by the rest of the world. These ideologies are: 1) Communism; 2) Capitalist Democracy; 3) Socialism; 4) Absolute Monarchy; 5) Military, Personal and Fascist Dictatorships.

Cutting across the lines dividing these systems are a variety of political influences: religious currents, imperialist and anti-imperialist tendencies; conflicting nationalisms of many kinds.

Because of the partisan violence which usually attends discussion of such ideologies, the Editors of UNITED NATIONS WORLD present in this issue the first of a series of objective analyses showing how each system operates in the international arena.

World Communism

BY THE EDITORS OF UNITED NATIONS WORLD

THE basic question which immediately arises in every discussion of international communism is: What is the force that makes communist parties adhere so closely to a uniform line on both international and domestic matters?

Most people assume that the Communist International (the Comintern) is the organ mainly responsible for dictating the day-by-day line to communist parties throughout the world. With the announcement in 1943 of the dissolution of the Comintern, the governments of the world heaved a sigh of relief. If the dissolution of the Comintern were really a fact, cooperation with Russia and coalitions with the communists on the domestic levels in the various countries might be feasible.

However, even after the dissolution of the Comintern, Communist parties everywhere on earth showed an amazing and, to most observers, frightening identity of views on all international matters. Now the Comintern has again become an acute political issue with the recent announcement of the organization of the Communist Information Bureau in Belgrade. The communists eagerly insisted that the existence of the Belgrade bureau meant, not a reestablishment of the Comintern, but merely that a certain number of communist parties with common interests had decided that they should have some kind of liaison and propaganda agency. They pointed out that the socialist parties had also created an international coordination commission, and that it was not considered an international threat.

Whatever the case may be—whether the Belgrade bureau reestablishes the Comintern, or whether it is merely a liaison and propaganda agency—the fundamental question still remains, what makes communists all over the world stick together?

Were the common action of communists due exclusively to the work of clever international agents, it would simply constitute a police problem. The police could cripple or kill the movement by ferreting them out. But no international political movement could have held together for more than a quarter of a century, through 14 major changes in the communist line, through the period of fascism, through World War II,

through a great number of purges which have cut down some of the most prominent leaders of communism—simply because of the work of such agents.

It is also self-evident that, no matter how great the financial contributions Russia may have made to the national communist treasuries, they would represent only a small part of the budget required by the vast international movement, with its newspapers, magazines and radio programs reaching millions of people.

NEITHER the plottings of conspirators, nor "Moscow Gold" is sufficient to explain the remarkable, magnetic cohesion of communists all over the world into a tight, global political movement. The secret lies in the five following factors:

1. Marxism, on which communism is based, is completely international in its doctrine and beliefs. It is based on the theory that only a world socialist society will secure peace and social justice for mankind.

2. The Soviet Union, as the only country in which communism has fully triumphed, is considered the true motherland of the international proletariat, and the fountainhead of instruction and guidance.

3. Communists consider their counterparts in other countries as permanent allies in both domestic and international struggles.

4. The personal sacrifice and self-denial the individual must make to retain membership in the party, deaden him to extraneous ideals. Family, national pride, personal ambitions, count for nothing in comparison to his devotion to the cause.

5. The communist party machinery, on both the national and international levels, is sufficiently strong to destroy all deviation or dissension.

In the days of the Comintern, before 1943, the coordination of these five factors was made possible by the existence in Moscow of an organization varying in number from 300 to 1200. In this organization, every communist party of the world war was represented. In addition, the Comintern had either permanent or temporary agents in the headquarters of the national communist parties. Very often, in moments of crisis, special representatives of the Comintern would be sent to the various countries to discuss specific problems that had arisen.

Contrary to general belief, the Comintern's policy was that adherence to the "party line" was to be achieved by persuasion, rather than by threats. Usually, in case of a conflict of views between the Comintern and the local Communist Party, the supreme organ—either the Politburo or the Central Committee—of the national party would meet with a representative of the Internationale. He would outline the reasons the world body felt a change in policy was necessary. Pre-conditioned by the intensive indoctrination, of all communists, the leaders of the national party would ultimately agree to the new line proposed by the Internationale. There has never been a case in history where a national party failed to agree eventually, although sometimes it has been necessary to threaten or eliminate elements suspected of "dissension" or "betrayal." The others would be allowed to discuss the question freely to their heart's content until they agreed. In the end they would emerge from

Last meeting of the Comintern was held in Moscow in 1935.

the session absolutely convinced that they were acting according to their own free will.

IN ORDER to obtain such complete intellectual and moral identification with the cause of communism, admission to membership in the party—not only in Russia where it is an enormous advantage to belong, but even in countries where the party is illegal and where membership entails great personal risk—is made extremely difficult. Any person with an inclination toward communist ideas is first invited to join a friendly pro-communist organization. After a few months of satisfactory activity, he becomes a "sympathizer." After that, he either applies or is invited to apply for membership in the party. He must then undergo a probationary period ranging from six months to three years. His friends and associates are requested to present their views of him, his statements and writing are carefully examined. Only after he has passed every test is he finally admitted to membership.

Once a member, his troubles really begin. For a long time he is still considered a novice. There is an unspoken but rigid rule on every level of communist organization that a young member should not have too much to say, should not take any personal initiative, and should wait until he is invited by the party leader to participate in more important activities.

Thus, during the whole probationary period of his party life the novice has a constant incentive to do better, to be more sincere, more militant, so as to convince his comrades of his reliability. Once fully accepted, if he has the ability, the member progresses from activities in a small cell to the district committee, the regional organization, then to the national and, much later in his career, to the international organization.

When the individual communist gets into trouble and is disciplined he can appeal to the national control commission of his party. When the Comintern existed, he could appeal to the awe-inspiring International Control Commission, a sort of supreme personnel department, which could simply invalidate the decision. In all but rare cases it upheld the national decisions.

GREENLAND
CANADA
U.S.A.
MEXICO
CUBA
Atlantic Ocean
CENTRAL AMERICA
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
GUIANA
ECUADOR
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
CHILE
PARAGUAY
URUGUAY
ARGENTINA
Pacific Ocean
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
GREAT BRITAIN
EIRE
NETH.
GERMANY
POLAND
BELGIUM
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
YUGOSLAVIA
ITALY
ALBANIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Mediterranean Sea
TUNISIA
KEY
ABSOLUTE
DOMINANT
SUBSTANTIAL
MINOR
INCONSEQUENTIAL

Communist

ngth in Today's World

THE individual communist lives in an atmosphere of continual intellectual and emotional elation. He is convinced that he is constantly contributing to the progress of mankind; he is sure that Soviet Russia can do no wrong; he is ever conscious of the fact that he is under surveillance and he is an equally vigilant guardian of the faith and activities of his fellows. Imbued with a carefully nurtured martyr complex, he venerates the example of the heroic makers of the Russian revolution, of the thousands of his fellows who suffered and died in concentration camps rather than give in. Members are always being prepared for the days when the party may be obliged to go underground. To any communist the prospect of being persecuted, of having his organization dissolved by the authorities, constitutes no decisive threat. Defeat in an election or political campaign, or growth of hostile forces cannot frighten him.

The only thing that really alarms a communist, is the danger of losing contact with the masses. On such occasions, when desertions occur, when meetings are poorly attended, when workers are reluctant to accept the party slogans, communist leaders are really worried. It is only then that a change of line or a modification of tactics is considered.

THE triumph of communism in Russia in the October Revolution of 1917 resulted in the establishment of communist parties in twenty-two countries, a number which has since increased to sixty-five. The very fact that Russia became the center of gravity of international communism constituted both the movement's greatest strength and greatest weakness. True, it meant that one-sixth of the globe was won for the cause, but it also meant that the ideas of Russia's leaders and the political needs of Russia herself, became the primary consideration in international communism. From that day to this, the national branches of the Comintern have never been able to act independently in local situations, often to their serious detriment. The U.S. Communist Party, for instance, has never recovered from its "warmongering" campaign against Roosevelt, forced on it by the temporary, expedient Russian alliance with Hitler in the early days of the war. Nor has the Italian Communist Party been able to live down its insistence that Italian Trieste be ceded to Yugoslavia, which served Russia's foreign policy.

In 1918, Rosa Luxemburg, probably the most lucid Marxian thinker next to Lenin himself, in spite of her full-hearted acceptance of the revolutionary dogma objected violently to the establishment of the Comintern in Moscow. In a most illuminating letter to Lenin, she wrote, "the struggle of the labor parties in the different countries *cannot* and *must not* be made dependent upon the very important but different interests of a state, even if the state happens to represent a victorious socialist revolution." Rosa Luxemburg, whose prestige in the radical workers' movement was equal to Lenin's, had the authority to stand up against Lenin. But when she was murdered a few months later by the predecessors of Nazism, com-

In 1917, communist leader Rosa Luxemburg (right) bitt opposed domination of Comintern by Russia and Lenin (le

munist resistance to Moscow's domination of Comintern died with her.

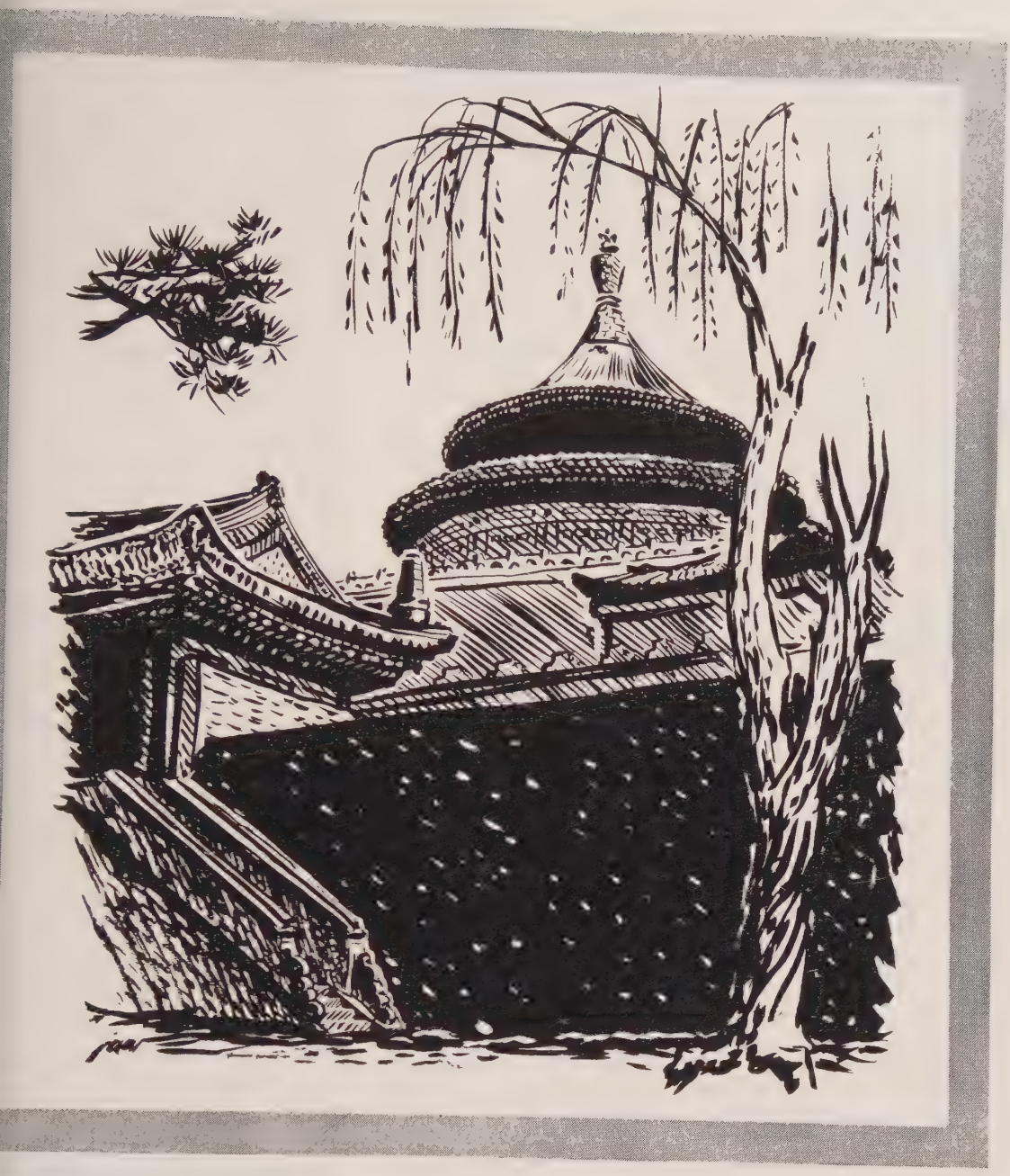
Many students of politics today believe that R Luxemburg was right. They believe that the sl progress of communism in the world before Wo War II was due to the existence of the Cominte Undoubtedly the subservience of the national co munist parties to the Soviet Union, was an importa element in the defeats which communism suffered Hungary, Germany, China and Italy. It genera virulent opposition to the movement as a whole a contributed to the growth of Fascism, which v offered as an antidote.

The Communist Party is the sole power in t Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. It is in absol control in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania. (map on pages 32 and 33.) It controls the governm —but still depends to a certain extent on coaliti with other parties—in Poland, Rumania and Hu gary. It holds key posts in Finland and Czechos vakia, where nevertheless the parliamentary regi still functions. In China, the Communist Party co trols important areas, with the number of inhabita estimated at about 70 to 100 million, and it also ho decisive political power in Russian occupied Korea

Outside of these countries, which are immedi neighbors of Russia, Communist parties at one ti participated in government for short periods Greece, Austria, France, Belgium, Italy and, in t Western Hemisphere, in Cuba and Chile. Today th are outside of any governmental responsibility those nations.

This is the extent of communist political power the world today—one-fifth of the inhabited ear with about 350 million inhabitants. At present, t only two countries in the world where weaknesses the central administration and communist streng make any communist seizure of power at all possi are Greece and China. However, U.S. interests and t presence of its military power in these two countr are at present sufficiently strong to rule the comm nists out even there.

At present, the only place where compromise tween non-communists and communists can still achieved is the United Nations. Whether this l meeting ground will be removed or whether a form of sincere cooperation with the other major forces be found is too early to say. On the answer depends question of peace or war.



The Change

By LIN TAIYI

Yutang's daughter tells tory about a Buddhist ple keeper's little girl.

Drawings by John Wedda

NUNU had been very quiet lately. She had abruptly discarded her flamboyant playfulness of thirteen years, and for two or three months now, she said very little and heard even less. This was quite a surprise to her father and mother because, up till now, she had been full of mischief and a perfect playmate for her seven-year-old brother. Her quietness was mystifying, and Nunu knew that nobody really knew her heart.

Nunu's father was keeper at the old and ancient Buddhist temple, atop a mountain summit, surrounded by beautiful trees. It was quiet, peaceful and green the year round, and the temple cast its serene vigilance over what seemed to be a universe below, at least all Nunu's eye could see or imagine.

The temple had been standing there for at least a hundred years and it was beyond the capacity of the keeper or any of his family to

appreciate or understand its significance. Nunu's father treated the ancient stone inscriptions, the worshiping-altars and all the things the temple consisted of purely as articles to be wiped and swept. Despite the fact that the Abbot had toured India in his younger days and thereby made this temple great and renowned, and that in this temple Buddhist scriptures were being copied by hand for posterity, Nunu's father felt that he was watching gate for a building no more extraordinary than a schoolhouse. He had contracted none of the serenity of the place, despite his lifelong stay here as keeper.

The children, Nunu and Aita, had played as noisily as if they were unaware of the sacred ground upon which they lived.

But Nunu had been mysteriously quiet lately. Her mother thought perhaps she was sick, but she showed no other symptoms than a quiet dismissal of childish frolic and indulgence in play.

These days, Nunu would sit on a high stone pedestal of the front gate, small and insignificant, tyrannical Buddha with spears and armor, twenty feet tall. And Nunu would seem to be far away, her mouth often bearing the curve of a smile, half childish, half grown-up, almost seductive. Her mother, on such an occasion, studied her carefully. What on earth was she thinking about. Nunu was skinny, short and cute. Her face was round, and she would have looked completely impish, had it not been for this new calm of hers. She was thirteen years old.

But Nunu was, she knew, nursing a secret in her heart, a secret that she was growing up, and, this being so, there were many important things she had to think about. Her heart was throbbing all the time now, and her throat choking with happiness, for she was dreaming her wildest, best and most beautiful dreams, with new material, with a field yet to be explored. All this had been very new, it had happened only three months ago, and she could feel she was changing. Nunu felt she was rapidly becoming a woman, and she keenly observed the physical changes of her body with thrills and impatience, with wonder as to what they could do, how they would alter her and, above all, what was happening to her. But they were accompanied by a fear almost as exciting, almost as intense, almost as forbidding as her secret thoughts. And so her mind was utterly busy and of course she had no time to play.

The temple was high above everything else, and often even clouds stood beneath it. Rarely did a visitor from outside come to see it, but this world was all Nunu had, and she loved it. She was used to everything about it, and the regularity, orderliness and cleanliness of the temple delighted her immensely, especially during these months, when she paid special attention to everything that was around her. At dawn, when the clouds had not yet descended into the valley, the monks, all fifty of them, would get up and trudge on soft sandals to the main hall and commence their prayers, in monotone, chanting with a forbidding rhythm, with a hypnotic power over her. The curt sound of the wooden drums, the chiming of different bells and the dense smell of incense were all part of this ritual, which woke Nunu up regularly and started her day with almost too much sweetness and mysterious excitement. Nunu would observe the monks from a distance, admire their air of elite refinement as they walked back into the monastery, young men, pale of face, black robed, dignified, solemn, important, living in a world which was no part of Nunu's, although she lived so close to them. When they had free time, they mutely went to their walled garden, and they walked, read or played chess. They didn't smile, and they didn't grieve, and on their faces there was a simple, pure, somewhat blank expression which made them almost pretty. And now, Nunu realized her childish screams must have been extremely vulgar. Some of the m had three branding marks on t shaved heads, some six and s nine. To Nunu, they seemed noble, and she wanted to tell t so, but knew she never could. it puzzled her why it was not u recently that she had becom aware of these noble men, had been living so close to he her life. She regretted all her act from childhood deeply.

Nunu's father couldn't un stand her. He said one day: think Nunu wants to go into to I'll buy you a purple jacket pink trousers, and a bright band for a sash, and take yo the fair!"

Nunu blushed deeply as if thoughts had been discovered. " papa," she said.

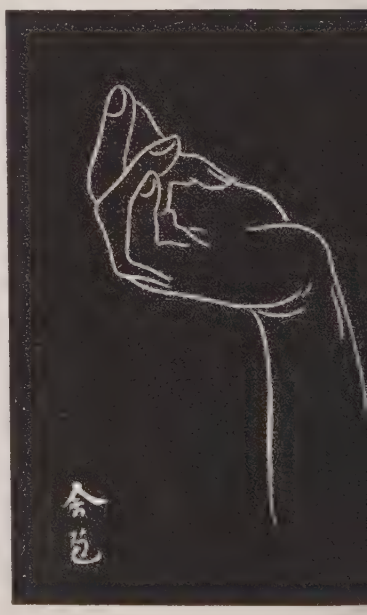
"Have you contracted the B dhist spirit?" her papa said.

"No, papa," she said softly.

"Then go out and play."

Nunu got a ball, and Aita she began to throw it back forth. She enjoyed this game t oughly, and seemed more grac and skillful than usual, to he and to her papa and mama, if to Aita. Nunu became aware there was a monk observing in the distance. She began bounce the ball, cross a leg ove and to repeat that little trick w she did very well. When she fir missed, she marched into the h with a stately gait.

Nunu then began to play quite often, and when it rolled the garden while the monks



Chinese hand character: "Swelling

re, she stepped in quietly, ked up the ball with slender gers and came out again, with- ever a word. But in her eyes, re was a languid, deep look, an ıost sad, watery look, which was turbing even to Nunu.

Dne day, an apprentice from the nks' kitchen came over and said t there was hot water left over m the cooking, and they could go r and have a bath.

Nunu and Aita went first, to a m next to the kitchen. It was e, had a smell of straw, and the ling was very high. Nunu had pted a new policy lately. She isted Aita should be outside enever she washed herself or nged her clothing. To this, Aita l protested because of its incon- nience, and its inconceivable pcy, to his mind.

"Nunu is getting silly," Aita had narked.

Now, Nunu asked him to stand side and watch, because the m had no latch.

Aita wanted to bathe first, but nu was violently insistent, and shed him outside. They took a h at best once every two weeks, ause it wasn't necessary if they shed their faces, hands and feet. t Nunu enjoyed one when it ld be had.

Now dusk was covering the untain, and she could hear the tsteps of a few monks walking going to worship. She heard deep, rich tone of the bell toll- slowly in the main hall, and rd the trees rustling with the ning breeze, almost shivering if they were alive.

Nunu undressed herself carefully, l as soon as she was naked, she ld feel that sensation teem up in again. She felt grown-up and rdly, as any woman had a right be, and she lounged in the small, nd, wooden tub leisurely. She ught about the pink trousers l red sash, but decided against m.

t was just at that moment that was aware of the squeaking of door.

"Oh, stop! Don't come in!" she ed. She leaped out of the tub, l was caught standing when the or opened, and a young wax-like nk was just going to step in. t upon one direct look inside, he ped out quick as a rabbit and pulled the door shut behind him.

Nunu was overcome and covered with shame. She dressed quickly and came out, to Aita's giggling.

"I thought you were keeping watch!"

"I didn't see him!"

"Well, you should have!"

Nunu felt her heart too small to contain the revolutions of feelings which were welling up. Walking back to the temple gate, she felt the excitement give way to a tingling, exalted, guilty feeling, and she felt her heart pulling as if a thread had been stitched through it. But the shame remained unabated. Nunu was glad it was dark, but the moon was shining, and seemed to be laughing at her.

In the tantalizing tremor of these thoughts, Nunu's mind broke in two with a distressing idea. She thought she had surely broken a sacred monk's vows! This thought, so sinister and mean and ugly, made her hate herself and weep. She asked for forgiveness, and her heart was torn in two, with a sweet, stitching pull on one side, and a heavy, important and serious desire subordinate on the other.

Aita ran ahead with the news. "A monk broke into Nunu's bath!" This shame, this feeling, this guilt, so secret, so deep, so intimate, so disturbing, was somewhat shaken by Aita's inconsiderate big voice. She said nothing, and came in, her head drooping.

Her parents were laughing, taking it lightly. Nunu said nothing all evening, and was secretly shocked by her parents' casualness about it.

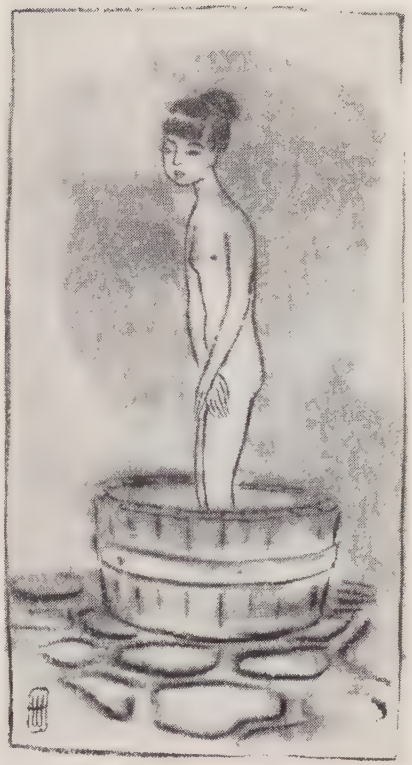
Nunu's night became darker and darker, and her well of emotions deeper and deeper, the destruction of a monk's vows and the sharp sensation of having been seen coveting the consciousness of her mind. At last she could stand it no longer, and when her mother had lain down beside her, she whispered, "Would the monk be changed?"

Her mother looked at her little body.

"A monk shouldn't be disturbed by it, I think," said her mother, with a voice softer, more mystifying than ever.

"You really don't think so? Should I apologize if I see him?"

Her mother couldn't say anything but a quick "No."



Nunu sighed with big relief. But something went wrong. Did her mother mean monks were unsusceptible to it? Could they be? Was it possible?

At length, at least she knew a definite change had come to her. The change was so definite that she was unwilling to convince herself the monk shouldn't have changed. Not knowing which would be more advisable from a monk's point of view—and she wished only to think from that point of view—Nunu decided that just as long as she hadn't disturbed the monk's devotion to Buddha, just as long as she wasn't in his disfavor, it was all right for her to have changed so.

Alas, it was a full, exciting day, and Nunu's throat was again choking with an exuberance of something. She sighed heavily—and made up her mind she'd devote herself to the temple the rest of her life. It was so exciting up here, much too much for her to cope with in one day.

Nunu soon grew too sleepy to think, and fell asleep with a smile on her lips, drawing in the cold mountain air deeply and heavily.

Her mother pulled the blanket over Nunu's straight little body, flat as the night was dark, and reached for her hand, feeling an incomprehensible envy as she did this.

HERBERT EVATT
of Australia

By JULES ARCHER

Former U. S. Correspondent in Australia

he peppery little Minister of External Affairs is e recognized leader of the smaller nations. A orn in the side of the big powers, he has sought shape the UN the way all of the people want it.

F, WITHIN our lifetime, the occasion ever arises to form a "United Planets Organization," the spirited ampion of the smaller planets' rights (Earth, Mars, enus, etc.) would most certainly be Dr. Herbert Vere vatt of Australia, chairman of UN's star committee Palestine, and runner-up to Dr. Aranha in the tly contested battle for Assembly President.

If at present the other planets have not heard of ustralia or her foreign minister, the fault does not lie ith eloquent, brilliant, egotistical Dr. Evatt. Ever nce he blew the dust off the formerly insignificant ustralian portfolio of External Affairs, he has dazzled s own countrymen and startled the world by his ility to magnify Australia's tiny voice into a chalnging roar.

During the crucial early days when gloomy Britons ere writing off Australia as a lost cause, along with ngapore and Indonesia, Evatt was in Washington ghting for his country's life by convincing the Pacific ar Council that Australia could and should be held all costs, despite the "Beat Hitler First" policy. He on the supplies, convoys and air power to save it.

At the San Francisco Conference when UN was rn, its three giant parents stood by meekly while idwife Dr. Evatt sterilized all the instruments, shed the Big Three out of the room—or as far out he could get them—and proceeded to deliver the by in accordance with his own ideas.

Criticizing Dumbarton Oaks as too vague and conmptuous of the rights of smaller powers, Evatt oposed 38 amendments for UN's Constitution, of hich 14 were accepted and 12 more acknowledged other changes that were made. Almost singlended, he gave teeth to a UN Economic and Social ouncil, designed to promote full employment and gh standards of living as essential war deterrents.

At San Francisco Evatt carried the day in pracally every respect but one. He had tried to muster e forces of UN's little fry to defeat the individual veto powers of Russia, the United States, England, France and China. While this unrealistic move failed, it added inches to the stature of the rotund Doctor. Australia was recognized as undisputed leader and spokesman for UN's lesser powers. This was astonishing statesmanship on behalf of a nation which numbers less than the population of New York City.

The two years that followed San Francisco enormously boosted Evatt's stock as an astute prophet. A dismayed world witnessed the growing clash of Russia and the U. S., and the subsequent impotence of the Security Council in face of major power vetos. Evatt had the vast satisfaction of saying I-told-you-so to the impressed Assembly at Lake Success.

When General Marshall proposed a 55-nation committee to sit in continuous session, as an implied rival of the Security Council, Evatt hailed the step as a beachhead for an all-out attack on the veto. "It is most satisfactory to the Australian delegation," he cried, "that after two years of experience, the United States Government has publicly announced to this Assembly its belief that the veto should not be applicable to the peaceful adjustment of situations."

As one of the many pies in which Evatt has had his chubby finger, he once championed Peru's insistence that meetings of the UN Assembly be open to the press, and won. The properly awed delegate from Peru proposed a vote of recognition for the work of second-string nations at the Conference, "by way of homage to the greatest champion of the small Powers, the Foreign Minister of Australia, Herbert Vere Evatt." It was carried unanimously.

It was almost inevitable that Australia should subsequently have been elected at the London Conference to one of the first three senior seats as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. Evatt doggedly campaigned for this honor, nosing out much more populous nations than Australia by arguing that non-permanent seats should go to nations who had contributed most to world security.

No Blast from the Kremlin

Despite Australia's criticism of the Council for its original fear of probing the Iranian hot potato, no hot blast of anger roared from the Kremlin at Dr. Evatt, such as scorched the seat of Churchill's pants during his early American tour. The reason was again

Evatt's shrewd statesmanship. Russia knew her influential friends, and Australia's Foreign Minister was one of them—at that time. He had publicly praised the Soviet, defended her right to territorial security, lashed out bitterly at those who advocated distrust of the Russians. But he was adamant that Russia, like any other member of UN, settle her disputes before the bar of international justice.

It was inevitable, however, that eventually the mutual esteem of the Soviet Union and Dr. Evatt would be impaled upon the spiky issue of the veto. With each Soviet wielding of the veto, Evatt found himself increasingly in the dilemma of the circus acrobat straddling two horses which begin to ride off in divergent directions. Forced to make his choice, Evatt clung to the anti-veto horse, which promptly carried him into an *ipso-facto* anti-Soviet position. When the time came to choose a chairman for the present General Assembly to succeed Paul-Henri Spaak, Russia did not forget. Evatt's aspirations were exploded in his face by the opposition to his candidacy mustered by the Soviets. As a consolation prize he won the second most important Assembly post, chairmanship of the Special Committee on Palestine.

Evatt and the Russian bloc have not exactly cherished each other since. Evatt and Vishinsky have crossed swords in the General Assembly over the question of putting Korea and the Italian peace treaty on the UN agenda. Evatt charged Vishinsky with legalistic trickery, and scored the Russian's objections by declaring Australia had as much right to speak on the Italian peace as the Soviet, "because of the sacrifices of Australian servicemen long before the Soviet Union was in the war against Italy."

Finally, when Vishinsky issued his blast at warmongers, Evatt scoffed and declared this to be no more than practical application of the theory, "If you have no case, abuse the other side." As a reward, the Soviet *Literary Gazette* lined up Evatt alongside of effigies of Truman and Churchill for literary burning.

Further Recognition for Evatt

More early laurels for Evatt's wreath were added when, at his insistence, the United States cut some of the ground out from under MacArthur's omnipotent feet by agreeing to a Far Eastern Advisory Commission, comprised of all the nations which had fought Japan. Evatt was made chairman of the basic policy committee, and inspired the Commission's demands that the economic backbone of Japan's military and political power must be completely smashed.

The Commission, in turn, led to a watchdog in Japan, the Allied Control Council, whose job it was to see that nobody threw sand into the Commission's plans to democratize Japan. Sparks started to fly when MacArthur defied authority of the Commission and Council to give him orders. But it was the sulky defiance of the boy who realized that, like it or not, he was going to have to take his castor oil anyhow.

In his most recent visit to Japan, Evatt once again rapped MacArthur's knuckles for permitting a Japanese whaling expedition in the Antarctic, and for letting them reopen the phosphate deposits on Anguar

At San Francisco, Evatt acting as spokesman for the small tions, forced an astonishing 26 amendments into the Cha

Island. He also dropped a heavy reminder that A tralia had to be regarded as a major power, insc as the Japanese peace treaty was concerned.

Architect of Dominion Equality

Evatt has succeeded in doing for Australia what Foreign Minister in its history has done. He has co pelled world recognition of Australia as a major cific power. And he has upset the hoary British tra tion whereby England leads and the Dominions me ly follow. But seasoned political observers don't exp any knuckle-rapping from London. Underlying delicate problem of readjusting Empire relationsh is a subtle appreciation by both England and the D minions that the Empire has much more to gain UN by having her Dominions act as independent tions, rather than as puppets. On any crucial vote which Empire interests are concerned, no one dou that England and her Dominions will vote as a ti bloc. But if this were the every-day picture confro ing U. S. observers, England knows it would o again hear the old demand for an equal number U. S. votes in UN.

The Opposition in the Australian Parliament attacked Evatt's work abroad on the grounds that is endangering Australia's security by hitching wagon to the perilous "experiment" of UN inst of to an Anglo-American alliance along the lines Churchill's proposals. And they make it plain the thinking about Russia.

"Those who endanger the life of the United N tions," Evatt thundered back, "threaten our chief b wark against a third world war." He once tong lashed the Russia-baiters by declaring, "It is import to note that some of those who, between 1933 a 1939, first endured, then pitied and finally embra Hitler and most of his works, are now to be fou among those who are prepared to join forces at o against the Soviet Union."

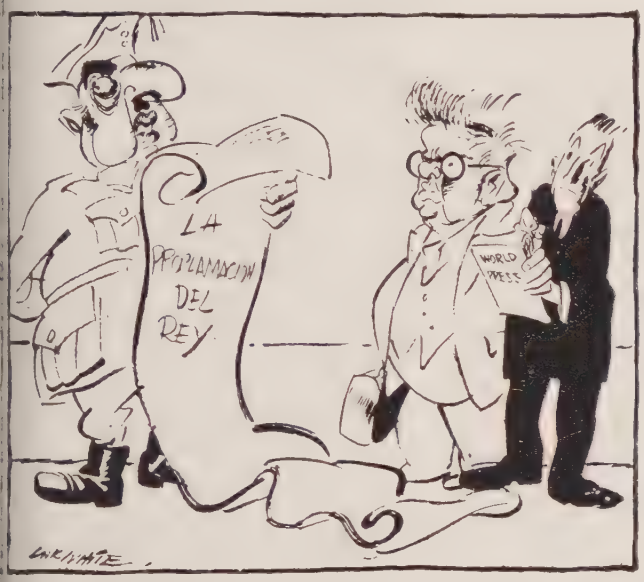
His detractors have further accused Evatt of h ing "given away" control of Australia's territories offering to place New Guinea and Nauru under trusteeship. At the same time they have barked

him for refusing to consider turning over Australian territorial bases to the United States for joint defense. Both attacks, in reality, are wide of the mark.

"The Government will enter into no commitments," Evatt has stated firmly, "which will lessen the control of the Australian people over their own territories." But he is not hesitant to invite UN to sit in judgment on Australia's territorial administration. And he is willing to consider sharing Australia's Pacific bases—if the United States will share hers with Australia.

The "Outsider" in the Cabinet

The man who gave Australia a foreign policy began to attract attention when as a youngster he went through Sydney University on scholarships and awards, emerging smothered under the degrees of B.A., LL.B. and LL.D., plus posts as philosophy tutor and lecturer in legal interpretation.



FRANCO: "Yielding to the irresistible arguments of you, Dr. Evatt, I am proclaiming my decision to retire—when I die."
—The Bulletin, Sydney.

Building up a law practice on the side, Evatt achieved national fame when he was 31 by defending two trade union leaders who were threatened with deportation. He won the case, and in the same year was rewarded by being elected on the Labor ticket to the New South Wales Legislative Assembly.

He held the seat for four years and in 1930 was elevated to Australia's High Court Bench at 36, the youngest lawyer ever to occupy this position. Between eminent decisions he found time to pen seven books, the most widely-known of which are *Australian Labor Leader, Rum Rebellion* and *Injustice Within the Law.*

In 1940 he made history by becoming the first High Court Judge to enter politics. Resigning from the Court at the request of the Labor Party, he won a seat in the House of Representatives. The Menzies (non-Labor) Government appointed him a member of the Advisory War Council. When the Curtin (Labor) Government came to power in October, 1941, Evatt became a Cabinet member—and another precedent was shattered.

In Australian politics it is highly unusual for Cabinet posts to be awarded to "outsiders"—that is, to men who have not served long and faithfully with the party in power.

The distrust of some Laborites, however, was allayed when they saw the powerful use to which Evatt put his portfolio as Minister for External Affairs. It was generally agreed that "Doc's" legal brilliance was an invaluable asset to the Labor Government and that his presence in the Cabinet lent an intellectual, worldly flavor which would have been conspicuously absent otherwise. But the rank-and-file labor leaders would balk at supporting him for Prime Minister.

For one thing, they distrust his lack of Labor experience and his failure, alone among cabinet ministers, to join a union. Unlike John Curtin and Ben Chifley, he is not blessed with the touch of the common man. Finally, Evatt's personality and manner have earned him many enemies. Blunt to the point of rudeness, he makes no effort to withhold his disdain from those he considers intellectually inferior—which category one Canberra wit described as including "everybody but 'Doc'."

The world, dazzled by Evatt the statesman, may wonder why internationally obscure Ben Chifley is Prime Minister of Australia, and not Evatt. But Australian Labor leaders, who have to work with Evatt are firmly content to keep the reins of the Labor Party in the hands of the shrewd ex-locomotive driver with labor convictions as granite as "Doc's" ego.

Perhaps the last word on Evatt was the thoughtful opinion of a veteran Canberra reporter who told the writer, "He's a proper paradox. As a world fighter for the rights of the little bloke, he ranks with Franklin Roosevelt. As a Foreign Minister he's put Australia on the ruddy map. As an individual, he's stubborn, self-intoxicated and ambitious. I guess your opinion of 'Doc' depends on whether you read him, listen to him or work with him."

EVATT TO MacARTHUR: "General, I assure you I am not going to scold you."
—The Bulletin, Sydney.

notes from the GRASS ROOTS

• In Philadelphia on October 30, a tall, smiling young American named Gordon Halstead stood before a group of 30 women leaders of international affairs discussion groups in Philadelphia, including Mrs. Sophia Yarnell Jacobs, Miss Price and Mrs. Helen van Zonneveld of the UN Council of Philadelphia; Mrs. Charles Evoy, Mrs. John A. Boyle, Mrs. C. Fred Rau and Mrs. William O. Mahon, of the Philadelphia Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Fussell of the Pennsylvania State League of Women Voters; and Mrs. A. O. Mitchener, of the Temple Association of University Women.

"We are about to begin," he said, "a test which we hope will have far-reaching effect on every city and town in the United States. What we are going to do in the next 45 minutes is to look at a motion picture on world trade (for 20 minutes) and then discuss what that picture brings to our minds in a kind of town meeting, or forum. I have asked 3 of you to act as panel leaders on this forum, but that isn't so important. You'll see that the talking will come from all of you. The panel simply starts you off." He turned to Mr. A. Bruce MacDonald, Field Representative of UNW. "Okay?" The lights went off and the movie went on.

The film was a good one: "Round trip: The U.S.A. in World Trade" (ask this department for details on getting it for your own group). Produced by the Twentieth Century Fund in color, it tells a simple, dramatic story, starts the mind racing. But the technique of the Film Forum, as presented by UNW's Mr. Halstead, is what those 30 women are talking about. They were still discussing world trade 40 minutes after official closing, and as a result of this interest other groups in Philadelphia are putting on further tests for UNW. Out of this will come a Film Forum Kit, prepared by UNW for group use. Write us for your copy.

At this meeting, UNW was informed that a new and important series of major lectures, beginning in November, will be sponsored jointly by the League of Women Voters, the Foreign Policy Association, and the UN Council of Philadelphia. Important addition to the lectures, which will have three major speakers for each topic, will be the discussion groups set up in the six major areas of Philadelphia to discuss the questions afterwards.

• Almost 400 communities are now "Getting Closer to the UN" with the assistance of UNW. Newest addition to our service is a "Discussion Guide on World Affairs" at 5c a copy, issued every month in conjunction with the magazine. Your orders are invited.

• To coordinate UN activities on college campuses in the West, the Pacific Intercollegiate Council for the United Nations held its first organizational meeting at Santa Ana, Calif., this fall. Representatives from Occidental, Pepperdine, Stanford, UCLA and USC helped make plans. A follow-up campaign in California is hoped to net 2000 college age members by the end of the year. The work is being supervised by USC student Ted Parker, Regional Director for the Pacific Council which includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon and Washington.

• The Women's Action Committee for Lasting Peace announced its new membership drive recently. According to Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, this organization has never been defeated on Capitol Hill. Every bill they have sponsored to date has been passed.

• In its first major effort to encourage more San Francisco Bay Area citizens to acquaint themselves with international relations problems, the recently organized World Affairs Council here are jointly sponsoring an NBC discussion program which began Oct. 3.

World Affairs Council of the S Francisco Bay Area is a merg of the San Francisco Bay Regi division of the Inst. of Pacific Re tions; American Russian Inst.; I ternational Center, San Francis and the Inst. of International Re tions, Mills College.

• Cord Meyer, Jr., president United World Federalists, return from the national St. Louis Conve tion of his organization "more th pleased." Apparently there was ha mony in the ranks, with a mu wider representation than hop for, and pledges of fairly impressi sums to expand their work ne year. Official reports of the conve tion's actions were still on the pre as this was written, are no dou available now at World Gover ment House, East 74th St. N.Y.

• Bus trips sponsored by UNW Lake Success are becoming I Business. We are now making dat six to eight weeks in advance, ha already conducted the followi groups to either Lake Success Flushing Meadow:

Sept. 18—Staten Island Wome Club.
25—New York Council Women.
26—Trenton League of Wom Voters.
Oct. 15—Daughters of the Briti Empire.
16—Stamford Women's Repu lican Club.
24—Scarborough School.
26—Asbury Park Woman's Cl
Nov. 7—Delaware County Fe eration of Women's Clu
12—Little Falls, N. J. Wome Club
17—Summit, N. J. League Women Voters.

• The Young People's Fellowsh of Holy Innocents Church, Phi delphia, is doing its share of peac mongering. Miss Georgia W. Mu phy, Chairman of the Study Grou writes: "Inspired by the articles your magazine and casting abo for a contribution we could ma toward strengthening the Unit Nations, we have arranged wi our parish and the other church in our community to sponsor a pr gram on November 30. We ha secured the film, 'The Peopl Charter,' and a speaker."

hildren's crusade

After a 10,000-mile pilgrimage, they seek their journey's end in Palestine.

BY LEO LANIA

UNW Correspondent for Eastern Europe

HIS is the story of the unbelievable wanderings of a group war orphans, from Poland to Siria, thence back over their escape ute to leveled Warsaw and on to ance, and then to Italy. As flies e economical crow, unimpeded bridges that today are still deolished, that is a mere pilgrimage some 10,000 miles.

It is a tale, also, of an indomita- Polish schoolteacher, a modern ed Piper who has just shepherded ese waifs to their most recent lting-place, in an Italian camp, fore they reach the Promised nd,—Palestine.

A FEW months ago, I was in Warsaw on the trail of these chilen, still on the move in the ebble of war. Inquiries in the Polish pital placed them at Otwock, a lage 20 miles to the east. One ernoon a driver and I set forth in battered jeep. As we crossed one the temporary bridges over the -choked Vistula, Warsaw lay bend us, the stark outlines of its attered buildings and churches d rubble-strewn streets mercily hidden by fresh snow.

Prewar Otwock had been a fashable resort, the site of de luxe tels, nightclubs and casinos. The rman Luftwaffe and the Panzer ision spared it, but the New land does not favor such luxur. Today the hotels have been nsformed into hospitals and rsing homes for hundreds of orphaned and ailing Polish children.

The 56 Jewish children who were our immediate concern were being sheltered in the former country-home of a Polish landowner. The dwelling is old but the barbed-wire enclosing the small estate is new. Before the entrance marched two young civilian sentries, armed with tommy-guns. (Postwar Poland, it will be recalled, has again known the horrors of pogroms, and the two guards were taking no chances.)

In 300 such shelters throughout Europe, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee seeks to bring smiles to the faces of 30,000 children. Most of them are orphans. Their kindergartens were in Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald; their playgrounds were dark forests and swamps, their games were those of evading capture by Nazi Storm Troopers, feigning death in the snow-covered yards of the concentration camps, chopping wood in slave labor gangs.

Jacob Tobiasch, the erstwhile schoolteacher for whom I was looking, was at that moment preoccupied repairing the shoes of his herd, but in a little while he returned to

Travel is an old business to these young refugees. Tired but still game they await the bus to take them on yet another step of their 10,000 mile odyssey to safety

The children have stopped in a wide variety of residences from ruins of Warsaw (left) to ultra-modern movie studios of F

the cubicle that served as his office, shook hands and offered me a cup of tea. He is a slight, bald, weary-faced Pole, looking much nearer 60 than his 42 years. His blue eyes are sad and he has the countenance and manner of the intellectual and ascetic, but his face lit up as I explained that I had recently come from New York and was connected with the work of the "Joint." For all his self-reliance and fortitude, Mr. Tobiasch is a painfully shy man; and I learned in a few minutes not to trespass too far on his passion for self-effacement.

As the schoolteacher unfolded the odyssey of "his children," some of whom darted in and out while we talked, he was interrupted repeatedly by the ringing of the telephone. Besides looking after his charges, he had one preoccupation: that was transport for them to the West. Next stop was Paris, if that was humanly possible. Over his face and into his tired voice there came successive expressions of hope, dismay and hope again as he spoke to officials of the Polish Ministry of the Interior, of the JDC branch in Warsaw and of the Central Committee of Polish Jews. Over and over he explained patiently, and indeed pleaded, that he had held his flock of Polish war orphans together up to now; and that so long as breath remained, he was determined to keep them together.

"We're still on the march," Tobiasch told me. "If we're fortunate, we will travel—by foot, if we must—at least another 1500 miles in Europe alone. With four occupation armies in Austria and Germany and all the complications that means, there's no way of telling when we'll get to Paris."

"And then where?" I asked. He looked at me half startled, incredulously. "To Palestine, naturally!"

In June, 1941, the school-teacher was spending a brief vacation at a village not far from Bialystok, about 100 miles northeast of Warsaw. On the 21st, without warning, the Nazis launched their "Blitzkrieg" against Russia. (Byalistok, a small city of 90,000 inhabitants, was then in the Soviet-occupied part of Poland.) Within a few hours bombs rained on all large communities and many small ones.

In the same village where Mr. Tobiasch had been resting was a summer camp for children of the relatively well-to-do—professional people and municipal officials of Byalistok. In the growing panic and disorder, the school-teacher offered his services to the camp directors; literally, they fell on his neck, since, as a teacher, he knew something of handling children. At a hurried conference, it was decided that he would take the children back to their parents in the city.

"The camp directors and I packed the children on the next train, the last to leave for Byalistok before the break-through," the schoolteacher continued. "There were then 180 children, between six and 12 years old, and for a while they were a good deal calmer I was. But later, in the intu way of children, they realized something was wrong, and smaller ones began to cry.

"I had my hands full. My w was that some German bo would succeed in ripping up tracks. I suspected the worst our train began to stop ever or 20 minutes. That meant course, that enemy planes overhead."

Then a bombed-out stretc track-bed halted the train for g

Mr. Tobiasch tried to reach home town by a detour, but Germans broke through and he his children were evacuated fa and farther east until they f themselves in Russian terri The Soviet authorities put the another train and sent the Vilna, Moscow and finally Sib

A month later, in August, by courtesy of the vag of the Trans-Siberian Rail they arrived at a colony near Baikal—all 180 of them. Mr. biasch did not care to dwel the complications of that ove expedition; for one thing, he grateful to the Russians w guests he and the children been. The peasants, he said obvious gratitude, "adopted" charges, and provided them larly with milk and butter.

And there they sat out the The children went to a Ru school, and would have almost gotten their Polish had not

Preparing for last leg of the voyage to Palestine, older boys learn farming in Italy

Tobiasch been persistent in talking to them in their mother tongue and reminding them, in stories told just before bedtime, of their own national culture. He admitted to a driving passion to maintain, so far as he could (and the Russian district officials would permit) the communal and national homogeneity of his group. He foresaw that, before the war's end, hundreds of thousands of children would be scattered and displaced, without any of the normal childhood intimacies to remember.

The Russian officials were helpful, he emphasized. But when he asked permission to teach Hebrew and Yiddish to the 75 Jewish children in his care, so that they might grow up mindful of their heritage, they said: "No." Mr. Tobiasch explained that he was reluctant to violate the Russians' great hospitality, but that his conscience compelled him to instruct the Jewish children in the language and culture of their race. This he did, surreptitiously, on long walks in the forests and fields and along the shores of Lake Baikal. The officials looked the other way. After several months they had appointed him director of the entire colony (for which he was later decorated), and their primary concern was that he continue doing an efficient job of camp administration.

"Then came the liberation of Poland and the end of the war," Mr. Tobiasch continued, his eyes brightening. "We had been away more than three years. The first letters began to arrive from home, from Byalistok. Every Wednesday was mail-distribution day. But there was never a letter or card for the Jewish children.

"My Jewish children could not endure week after week, seeing the others excitedly reading their mail, while they stood about, forlorn and empty-handed. From their pathetic belongings, they drew out letters they had received from their parents, away back in 1941 at the summer camp, and read them aloud—improvising, of course, and pretending they had just received these letters."

It was then that Mr. Tobiasch decided to lead the Jewish children back to Byalistok, in the desperate hope that at least some of their parents and relatives had survived the Nazi death camps. Arrangements were made for the other Polish children, some of whom were by now in their late 'teens. Fourteen of the older Jewish children, however, elected to remain and accept an offer to attend a Russian university. Five Jewish children had died at Lake Baikal.

"WHAT I had feared," Mr. Tobiasch said, "was only too true. Not one parent or relative of the Jewish children had survived. My wife and two children had also died in the gas chambers. The 56 children with me here at Otwock are now my children. They are all I have left."

He led me out of the cubicle to visit with his young flock. Some were playing chess, which he had taught them at Lake Baikal, others were reading, writing and studying.

I also spoke to some of the other children in the Shelter, those who had miraculously survived the Nazi occupation in Poland and the mass executions. The contrast between the two groups was severe. The Tobiasch children were obviously much stronger physically than the others; moreover, they seemed stronger and healthier mentally. They had a soldierly bearing and morale, and a mission—to get to Palestine even if they had to walk and swim. Without exaggeration I could say that they had the glint of the crusader in their eyes. For example, although they were grateful for the American chocolate I was to distribute, they were much more interested in the questions they fired at me over the likelihood of their reaching Palestine. With a degree of chagrin I have never experienced in relation with adults, I could only say that I had hopes, and advise them to place their trust in Mr. Tobiasch.

A bell rang for dinner. I took leave of Mr. Tobiasch and his children. "Next year in Erez Israel," they exclaimed, using the ancient Hebrew greeting.

EIGHT weeks later I was in Paris. One of my stops was at the Eclaireurs Israelites de France, the Jewish Boy Scouts of France, to get some notes on how the leaders of that magnificent organization at a cost of 240 of their own lives had rescued and secreted from the Germans in France more than 6,000 Jewish children. A young woman on the staff asked if I was interested in meeting a group of Polish war orphans, who, at a snail's pace, had made their way to Paris from remote Siberia.

Author Lania and two young refugees.

The children were now sheltered in the Chateau de la Guette near St. Germain-en-Laye, about an hour's drive from Paris. Although mild enough outside, it was bitterly cold in the chateau, which had been built in the grand manner, with marble stairways, vaulting and frescoed ceilings and vast fireplaces. All that fabulous decor, incidentally, contrasted oddly with the row upon row of utilitarian double-decker cots.

Mr. Tobiasch, looking just a little wearier and thinner, if that were possible, greeted me warmly. He was bundled up in an overcoat, scarf and an old beret, and his hands were almost blue. The six-week trip from Warsaw had been uneventful enough, he explained—but the unending red-tape had been an appalling strain on the children.

"But they are well," he said, leading me to a tiny fire in one of the cavernous fireplaces where he extended his transparent hands. "Still, in some ways, we were better off in Poland. Here we haven't had wood or coal for two weeks, and the prospects of getting any are bleak. Of course, all France is shivering. We cannot complain." He asked if I wanted to renew my acquaintance with his fifty-seven children.

"Fifty-seven? You had only fifty-six in Otwock."

"Well, we picked up this stray in Silesia. He's not really a boy. He's 19. I was just being selfish. I hoped he could take some of the responsibility off my shoulders, and he has. The humiliating truth is that I'm getting just a little tired."

Mr. Tobiasch invited me to lunch with his children, and I wandered from table to table in the mausoleum-like banquet-hall, talking with members of his small legion. They seemed a little peaked and travel-worn, but otherwise robust enough. Lunch consisted of cabbage-and-potato soup with a sour apple for dessert; there were no second helpings and no left-overs.

After lunch Mr. Tobiasch called over the fifty-seventh member of his band. The lad had a military bearing. He had been born in Lwow, he explained, and when his parents were shot he had joined up with the Polish partisans. Later, he had en-

The children arrive in Prague from Poland where the Nazis had killed their

listed in the Red Army and had been twice decorated for bravery (this last item supplied by Mr. Tobiasch). Interesting was his disclosure that he had two uncles, one in Baltimore and the other in San Francisco, who had sent him the necessary affidavits to permit him to go to the U.S.

When I asked if he had applied for an entry permit, he answered with vehemence: "No. I do not want to go to America. I want to go to Palestine to teach Jewish history. That is the reason I joined forces with Mr. Tobiasch. The Nazis killed my parents. Now I want to live like a Jew."

About six weeks later, I arrived in Rome. On its outskirts is the one-time Hollywood of Italy, Cine Citta. In each of the huge studios today there live between 300 and 500 men, women and children—if their lamentable existence may be called living.

I had none but an intuitive knowledge that here I would again meet Mr. Tobiasch, but sure enough, in one corner of an evil-smelling studio, I found him.

The British had magnanimously granted them their Palestine entry-permits; one of the little girls assured me that they would be sailing for the Holy Land in a week. I felt compelled to caution Mr. Tobiasch against raising the hopes of his children—others at Cine Citta had been waiting for two years.

Between Paris and Rome M Tobiasch had picked up another cruit, a 13-year-old orphan b with a wracking cough. At C Citta, where like everyone else boy underwent a medical exami tion, certain misgivings Mr. To asch had had were confirmed: B jamin had tuberculosis, and t ended any hopes of taking him Palestine. Mr. Tobiasch was go over to the camp infirmary to the boy, and would I come alo

When we arrived at his beds Benjamin turned his face to wall; he had no interest in visit Mr. Tobiasch explained patien that the next day he would le for a hospital at Merano to reg his health.

At that, he turned around. O bright, deep-set eyes stared at

"What good will it do me to to a hospital? I am 13, and I h never been to school. What ca learn in a hospital?"

Mr. Tobiasch explained he mistaken. At Merano a teac would come to his bed each mo ing and instruct him in reading a writing. He could promise that.

Benjamin turned to us o more, and gradually the disbe faded from the hollow-set eyes.

"If that is true," he said, his f illuminated by a grin, "isn't it w derful to have tuberculosis?"

Farewell and happy landi Mr. Tobiasch and your flock little pilgrims. I shall miss you.

U N politically speaking

About people and happenings in and around the United Nations

BY EVELYN G. KESSEL

General" Lie

U.S. citizens, long addicted to riting to their legislators, have disovered a new way of letting off eam globally. They now write to rygve Lie. Their letters pour in t an average of 175 a day, conining fantastic solutions for all e world's problems, sketches of eapons to succeed the atom bomb nd demands for everything from a ob to the removal of a cherry tree om a taxpayer's lawn.

Even Mrs. Lie gets her share of e correspondence. One kind lady ent her a cookbook on the not unound theory that the world's probems may be solved more easily fter a good meal.

And the customers won't accept ny substitutes. One lady, on being old that she and her scheme were eing referred to the Secretary Genral's office, declared scornfully, But I don't want to speak to the eneral's secretary, I insist on peaking to the General himself!"

Who Darns Their Socks?

Bachelors abound at the United Nations. The roster of these unwed iplomats with their impressive itles and records of achievement ay well enkindle the feminine nagination.

But let me point out a fact or wo ere hostesses start planning arties for reluctant lions—and beore contriving young ladies with leas of work and pleasure comined, appear at Lake Success with gleam in the eye.

First, most of the United Naons' bachelors are stern, inaccessile and immersed in work. Danling around in the Delegates ounge will do you no good at all, y dear. Fan letters are sifted by ragon secretaries.

Second, there are *no* volunteer orkers. According to Miss Leone Iuller, Assistant Director of Peronnel, no recruitment is being onducted at the UN now, and here are more than 40,000 applications on file anyhow. Nevertheless, for your records, dreams and schemes, we herewith call the roll of a few of UN's most fascinating but aloof figures—the bachelors!

▶ *H. E. Nasrollah Entezam,* Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Iran. Slight, dapper, greying, black-mustached, he looks the part of the career diplomat. Wears the last of his well-cut British clothes. "Now you have to wait 13 months for them." Expressive eyes show a strain of melancholy. "I am gay outside, sad at heart," he says. His pleasant manner, although detached, is not world-weary. Likes bridge, biographies, modern French novels, international society; is disinterested in food, the stock market, dancing and marriage. Only occasionally does he yearn for a hostess and companion. Thinks care-free American women more attractive than European. Once an ardent skier on the high Iranian plateau, he now leads the usual sedentary work-a-day-and-night UN existence.

Although belonging, as he puts it, to the "intellectual opium-eaters of the prewar era" he realizes that the new generation has no time to dream about the classic past, and "knows a lot of things that we don't. . . Postwar people admire a steak more than a Rembrandt.

"What is better?" asks Mr. Entezam, "To have the best perfume and no bathroom a la Pompadour, or the bathroom and no perfume?"

▶ *Sr. Carlos Holguin de Lavalle* (father's name first, then mother's), Ambassador and Permanent Representative from Peru. Came to UN last March after 30 years in the diplomatic service. Of his many assignments, he finds this one most exciting. Slim, well-dressed, much traveled, reputedly wealthy, he personifies the diplomat. Abundant grey hair, dark glasses, deep lines about the mouth add to the effect. He follows the usual UN routine of toiling over the weekend, immured in his Waldorf-Astoria apartment. Enjoys the theater and drawing, but has no time for either. As to marriage, he says, "Ask the girls;" further adding the Spanish proverb: *"Matrimonio y mortoja del cielo baja"* (weddings and deaths are decided in heaven).

▶ *Benjamin Cohen,* Assistant Secretary General of Public Information (not to be confused with former U.S. Asst. Sec'y of State of the same name). Of sanguine temperament and coruscating mind, he is one of the glamorous figures of the Secretariat. Journalist, jurist, diplomat, former ambassador, he was asked to organize the UN Secretariat in London. From there he was accepted unanimously to fill

J. B. Orrick, Non-Gov. Ag. Head

Peru's Carlos Holguin de Lavalle

his present post. He looks like a jovial and more rotund Dante—black-haired, sad-eyed. In Paris he was constantly taken for the actor, Harry Baur. He loves good food, pretty girls, stimulating company—with little time to enjoy any of them. . . Yet manages to steal an hour here and there for a party. His most pleasurable weakness, however, is the ladies. "I like all women—every type—I'm omniverous. But they must be natural. As to why I have not remarried—how can one reason? A bolt of lightning may strike some day. If it hits me, all right—if not, all right too."

▶ *James B. Orrick*, head of Non-Government Organizations, says he is just a functionary and not a public character. Chief duty of the tall Mr. Orrick with the cleft chin and English accent (he went to Oxford) is to maintain liaison between the UN and International Non-governmental Organizations for purposes of reciprocal information. He likes music, reading. Dislikes tripe in diet and conversation, detests weekends in strange country-houses. Quiet Sundays with friends, or in his New York walk-up apartment, with its patina of 19 years' occupancy, suit him better. "I am an internationalist where women are concerned," he says, "provided they are bright and talk well—*but impersonally*."

▶ *Carlos Garcia-Palacios* of Chile, Deputy Director of Radio Division of UN is another gay, insouciant and hard-to-get bachelor. His crowded career, bursting with adventure, has been packed into a comparatively short span of years. After 15 years with the League of Nations and extensive experience in public relations, journalism, and radio, he arrived at UN. Sparse-haired, handsome and smiling, he is usually accompanied by a cigarette in a long black holder; and he beams at you over a red tie which brightens his tweeds. Collects old silver, Indian masks, Chinese Buddhas, autographs, stamps, and photographs of native tribes, with which his apartment is cluttered. He likes the rhumba but doesn't dance it enough to restore his waistline. His discerning Chilean eye never misses a pretty hat or the blonde who's under it. "Long skirts look sad and make me feel old," he sighs, "because I remember when they were long—a long time ago." He likes only the ultra-feminine type of woman.

In his office, Palacios functions in a pyrotechnic manner, telephoning incessantly, conferring continually, and issuing staccato orders to his submissive Phi Beta Kappa secretary, whom he calls *Chica*, as he does all girls. "I have no life, *chica*," he says sadly to her, as he simultaneously answers the phone, signs six letters and confers with four people.

▶ *William Borberg*, Minister and Danish Delegate to UN. The most elusive and cerebral of our bachelors, professorial of mien, with domed forehead over quizzical spectacled eyes, he can usually be found at two in the morning still at his desk in his hotel. His is the usual plaint. No time for golf, no time for theater, no time for parties. No time for anything except to read documents. Weekends are working days. Anyhow, he sa the new type diplomat is less int ested in elegance of dress and soc functions. Today, parties are means of talking shop. Modern di lomats look for facts and face the He needs a home and a hostess, says, so he could read even mo books and more blueprints would only have to telephone ho —I am coming with five guest Not a minute wasted! But a d mestically proficient lady is n enough. Mr. Borberg's ideal wom must be beautiful, brilliant a wealthy. "You generally end up marrying someone ugly, stupid a penniless," he said, with a cynicis at variance with his kindly smi

▶ *Donald Alyea*, guard at the Fl Entrance was an M.P. in the Arm —rank of Provost-Sergeant. He an American of Hugenot extra tion. Slender and trim, he lives Jericho, Long Island with his pa ents. He collects daguerreotyp (his family's own pictures sugges ed the hobby) likes tennis, bio raphies, Yorkshire pudding a placid brunettes. Reads UNITE NATIONS WORLD sedulousl Guarding the portals of the U makes him feel the world's puls beat. "You're right in the middle everything." As to his single stat he says, "Freedom from domest worries is the fifth freedom."

Fancy Fare and Figures

Waiters in the delegates' dinin room report that Andrei Gromyk eats chicken five times a week, especially intrigued by Chicke Fricassee. Every time he eats it, asks again what it is made of on this point his famous memo fails him.

General Carlos Romulo of t Philippines finishes an entire di ner in 10 minutes—dashes off to meeting, leaving his guests to enj theirs for two hours.

Faisal Fizzle

Interpreter Ali Alireza reve that the "Emir Faisal Fizzle" co tains only orange and grapefr juice.

This innocuous drink, along wi others more potent, was devised Gus, the head bartender, swanky plaid suit, rushing efficiently fr bar to bar during General Asse bly days.

Asst. Secretary-General Benjamin Cohen

Nasrullah Entezam, Iran Delegate

united nations DIARY

A digest of UN activities throughout the world

In the Committee on Palestine both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. stood together for partition, while a bloc of Arab countries objected

Manful Struggle

During the months of October and November, the General Assembly struggled manfully with problems it was never intended to tackle—really the one problem of bringing World War II to an end. Many of the major issues which came before it were those which the great powers had been unable to solve by the machinery they had set up for the purpose, the Korean case for example, inherited from the Postdam conference, and the strife on the borders of Greece. Almost every debate sensational enough to make newspaper headlines was carried out under the shadow of the failure of the powers to make the peace.

If the success of the second session of the Assembly be measured by the extent to which it brought together the embattled powers, it was pitifully small. True, the intervention of the smaller nations succeeded in at least one instance—the resolution on warmongering—in producing a unanimously acceptable compromise where only sharp antagonism had existed. True, monotonously regular majorities adopted recommendation after recommendation over the opposition of the U.S.S.R. and its allies. But, for the most part, the Soviet bloc refused to accept those recommendations or to implement them, and in consequence the gap between east and west was as great as ever, or greater.

The gap did not become a full break, and the Assembly survived. This was no small accomplishment. When the storm broke during the first meetings, many observers predicted that the U.S.S.R. would either walk out or be forced out of the organization. After his defeat on the Interim Committee ("Little Assembly") issue, Vishinsky did indeed accuse the western powers of trying to compel the Soviet Union to quit UN. But the Soviet Union did not quit. The framework stands, and the experience of the second Assembly proves that it will continue to stand.

Lion Into Lamb

The assembly has therefore fulfilled one of its most important purposes, that of constituting a permanent forum at which the world's problems can be discussed, openly and publicly. The world's participation certainly exercised a calming influence with respect to the issue dramatically tossed to the Assembly by Vishinsky during one of the opening meetings: his attack upon the press of the U.S., Greece, and Turkey for "warmongering."

Vishinsky's thunderous denunciation went a lion into committee, and emerged a lamb. His original

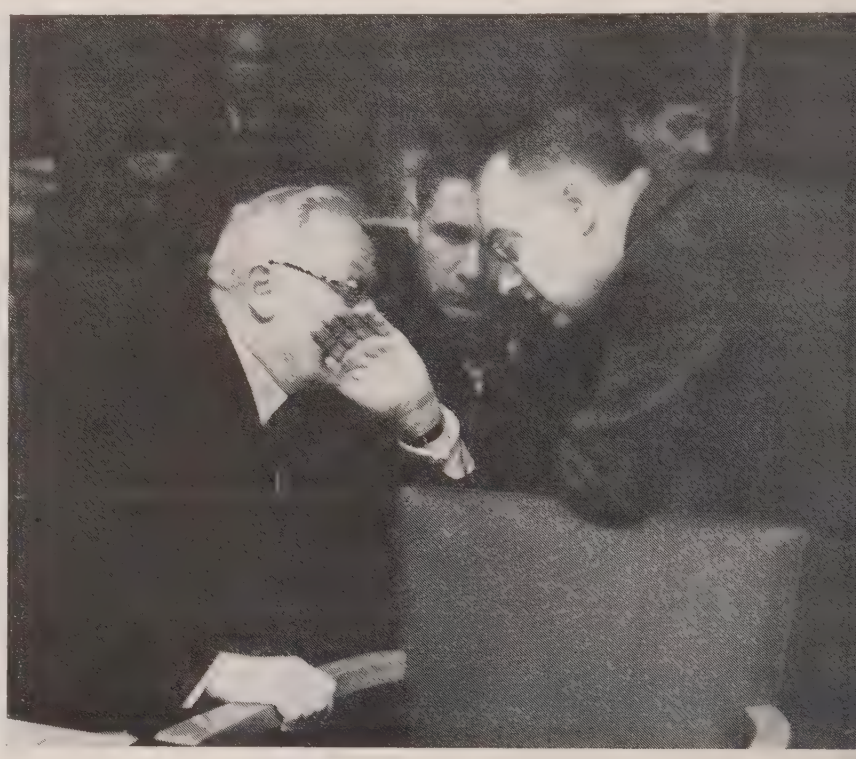
proposal condemned the warmongers and named their names. The final resolution found inciting to war an objectionable practice, but convicted nobody of it. Vishinsky had asked member nations to prohibit such propaganda "on pain of criminal penalties." The adopted form asked each member to use all efforts "within its constitutional limits" to foster publicity promoting friendly relations among nations. The resolution presented by the Soviets resulted in some of the angriest debate ever heard in United Nations discussions; the Australian-Canadian-French substitute was finally adopted by unanimous vote.

"Very, Very Little"

For the most part, however, quarrels between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. which came before the General Assembly were composed, not by compromise, but by the bludgeon of majority vote. Perhaps the most important of all revolved about the "Little Assembly" plan put forward by Marshall as a counter to Soviet vetoes in the Security Council. The end product was a somewhat milder affair than the first blueprint. The temporary and experimental nature of the Interim Committee was emphasized in the final draft, and its scope was limited and defined. Most important restrictions put upon its work required the agreement of two-thirds of its membership before any item might be included in its agenda or any investigation authorized, recognized the right of any nation to refuse a commission of inquiry entry into its territory, and forbade the committee to consider any subject which was on the agenda of the Security Council, whether or not that Council was actively considering it.

Some delegates thought that these restrictions weakened the Interim Committee to the point of uselessness. "It is very, very little, this Little Assembly," said José Arce of Argentina. But most delegates felt with Sassen of the Netherlands that it would be unwise "to try to walk faster than our legs are long."

For the Soviet bloc, the amendments to the original U.S. plan did not make the Interim Committee a whit more palatable. However "cynically" disguised, the Russians insisted, the Committee remained a rival and competing agency to the Security Council, and therefore a clear infringement of the provisions of the UN Charter. The attempt to hide this fact reminded Vishinsky of the man who wanted to eat pork during Lent and therefore called it trout.



Eastern Bloc confers. Vishinsky (behind hand) whispers to Gromyko and Lan

The Interim Committee was not a trout but "a big fat pig" hidden under the sauce whipped up by the cooks of the Assembly.

Six nations, including the U.S. S.R., agreed that it was a pig, and declared they would have nothing to do with it. How usefully the committee will be able to function without them remains to be seen.

The Negative Six

Those six negative votes (U.S. S.R., Ukraine, Czechoslovkia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Byelorussia) kept cropping up again and again as the items on the Assembly's agenda were discussed, and as regularly they were snowed under by large majorities. But the lines were not as clearly drawn as might be supposed. Almost every showdown was characterized by a considerable number of abstentions. Frequently delegates from the Scandinavia nations, from the Mid East and from Latin America fused to align themselves on eit side. Their motive? Genuine in cision as to the merits of the ca fear of offending one or another the great powers, or desire to bu up a bargaining position.

The Six would have nothing do with the UN recommendatio on Korea, either. The resolution passed was essentially the same that originally presented by t U.S. delegation. It calls for an el tion of a National Assembly by t Korean people to take place n later than March 31, 1948 und the supervision of a United Natio commission and, "as early as pra ticable" thereafter, for the wit drawal of the occupying forces.

The Soviets made two notal sallies on this battlefield. In t first place, they proposed, simp that Russia and the United Sta withdraw their troops from Ko at the beginning of 1948, and l the question of the establishme of a Korean government to t decision of the Koreans themselv Secondly, they introduced a re lution inviting elected represen tives from northern and south Korea to come to the Assem and take part in the discussio How those representatives were be chosen, the resolution did n

y. The U.S. delegation objected at the Assembly could not possy remain in session long enough permit such a procedure as the viets contemplated. Both Rusn proposals were voted down by e usual majorities.

So the U.S. resolution went ough, and the Six washed their nds of it, saying that they could t participate because the repreitatives of the Korean people d not been permitted to take part the discussion. It seems most unely that this American victory n have any practical results ext to record the U.S.S.R. as once re failing to comply with a UN cision. If the Korean commission not allowed to enter the Soviet upied zone, the elections recomended by the resolution cannot held, a national assembly cant meet, the U.S. will not withaw its troops, and neither will e Russians.

On the subject of commissions, e Ukrainian, Manuilsky, rerked that "the experience of the S.S.R. with commissions sent to rious places bears witness that e confidence shown by the U.S. R. is these commissions has been used," and he added that there d been such abuse, for example, the Greek question.

Abuse or no, the Assembly voted establish a semi-permanent Baln commission, despite the fact at the Soviet bloc threatened resal to cooperate. Again, the Russns tried unsuccessfully to counter th a resolution calling for imediate withdrawal of all foreign ops and military missions from eece.

rtition in Palestine?

Across one major issue facing e Assembly, the shadow of east-st conflict lay less heavily. As sel and silver bells appeared in w York shop windows, at Lake ccess delegates to the *Ad Hoc* mmittee on Palestine debated the ure of the Holy Land.

Would these modern Wise Men d the answer? After the general ate on the pros and cons of the jority plan, which would split lestine into Arab and Jewish tes, the Committee undertook map out the future governments Jewish and Arab Palestine, on basis of the majority-supported Partition Plan.

Two plans were proposed, one by the Soviet, the other by the U.S. They agreed as to the general principle of partition, but differed as to the date when the British should give up the mandate, the nature of the UN commission to be set up to supervise the transition to independence and many other details.

On November 9, it was announced that those differences had been compromised. Under the Russian-American agreement, (1) the British mandate for Palestine would end on May 1, 1948. (The Russians had proposed January 1, the U.S. delegation July 1). (2) Within two months after May 1, the Arab and Jewish states would come into being. (The Americans had objected to any transition period). (3) A 3 to 5 man commission would be appointed by the General Assembly from representatives of small countries which favored the partition. (This was the U.S. proposal; the Soviets had asked for an 11-man commission of the Security Council). (4) The commission would carry out the recommendations for partition to be made by the General Assembly. (5) The commission would "assist" the British administrators in Palestine until the date set for the termination of the mandate. (6) It would administer Palestine during the period between the departure of the British and the establishment of the two independent states. (7) It would act under the authority and guidance of the Security Council (a concession to the Soviet desire for a commission appointed by the Security Council and responsible to it.)

To these seven points, the Soviet-American agreement added a request that the British maintain law and order and the conduct of essential public services until May 1. Here the Soviets made the concession: they had wanted to give no part of the security task to the British.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Leon Jouhaux confer about Human Rights questions

"Prosperity is Indivisible"

As a result of the labors of the Economic Committee, the Economic and Social Council will make an annual survey of world economic trends and recommend ways to cure global economic headaches. The survey was proposed by Australia and Poland.

A Polish resolution, stating that "prosperity is indivisible" was unanimously agreed on in the Assembly. It recommends that UN members carry out Assembly resolutions in the economic and social, as well as political fields and that the Economic and Social Council

report to the Assembly on how well its suggestions have been implemented. The Poles (with the Marshall Plan in mind?) originally called on members to use UN machinery for settling their international economic problems — but this was rejected.

The Assembly voted to study the possibility of setting up an Economic Commission for the Middle East as suggested by Egypt—thus rounding out the global network of UN economic commissions.

One item on the Economic Committee's agenda—post UNRRA relief—brought forth East-West bickering. At the last Assembly session, a resolution had been passed asking UN members to give aid "when and where needed" in 1947.

Yugoslavia charged that U.S. and U.K. had not lived up to the resolution, that they had turned relief into a political weapon. Mr. Vilfan demanded a reaffirmation of the 1946 resolution. It was defeated by a vote of 24 to the familiar 6.

Phosphates in Trusteeship

The Trusteeship Committee's five-point agenda was the first to be completed by the General Assembly. It directed the Union of South Africa to submit a trusteeship agreement for South West Africa by the 1948 session of the General Assembly. It added the tiny, phosphate-rich island of Nauru in the South Pacific to UN trusteeship. It will be administered by New Zealand, Australia and the U.K. The Soviet bloc dissented as it had in the eight trusteeship agreements which preceded it.

Important issue arose over the inclusion of a report on political progress in non-self-governing territories. Originally sponsored by the U.S.S.R. and adopted in Committee, the resolution was defeated 25 to 17 in the Assembly. A substitute, supported by U.S., merely notes that transmission of information on political progress, though voluntary, is encouraged as being "in conformity with the spirit of the Charter."

Budget at the Bone

After next year, UN will no longer reimburse its employees for income taxes they must pay to their governments. In fact, UN is planning to impose its own tax on its workers, requesting the member nations to relieve their nationals in the UN from double taxation. The anemic budget necessitated important cuts in UN information program and the Department of Social Affairs. Only three additional Information Centers will be established in place of the eleven contemplated, one each in Europe, Asia, and Latin America.

Syrian Delegate Faris El Khoury (left) and Hungarian Min. to U.S. Vambe

Unchaining World Trade

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, to which 75 nations and territories have been invited, will convene at Havana, Cuba this November 21. Way for the meeting was cleared by the recently concluded Geneva conference of 16 nations. These nations which controlled more than two-thirds of the world's trade, negotiated 103 tariff agreements directed at unblocking the flow of commerce. The primary purpose of the Havana conference will be to adopt a final draft Charter of the projected International Trade Organization (ITO).

Basic principles of the proposed ITO Charter are:

1. To assure a large and steadily growing volume of real income and effective demand, to increase the production, consumption and e change of goods, and thus to co tribute to a balanced and expan ing world economy.

2. To foster and assist indu trial and general economic develo ment, particularly of those cou tries still in the early stages of i dustrial development, and to e courage the international flow capital for productive investme

3. To further the enjoyment all countries, on equal terms, access to the markets, produc and productive facilities, whi are needed for their economic pro perity and development.

4. To reduce tariffs and oth barriers to trade and to elimina discriminatory treatment in inte national commerce.

5. To enable countries, by i creasing the opportunities for the trade and economic developme on a mutually advantageous bas to abstain from measures whic would disrupt world commerce, r duce productive employment retard economic progress.

6. To facilitate through the pr motion of mutual understandin consultation and cooperation t solution of problems relating international trade in the fields employment, economic develo ment, commercial policy, busine practices and commodity polic

Summary of important speeches, treaties and other international documents. Copies available at cost. Send key number to World Files, *United Nations World, 385 Madison Avenue, New York 17.*

236:47 Guatemala Imposes News Censorship

September 24, Guatemala

1. Censorship imposed on all outgoing news, and civil guarantees contained in the constitution suspended since September 17, because of arrest of three persons charged with plotting to overthrow the Government.

237:47 New Social Security for Soviet Coal Miners

September 24, Moscow

1. Under the new system, coal miners will receive the following benefits: 100% of pay during illness; pensions for invalids and survivors; retirement on pension at age of 50; if miner chooses to continue working, pension plus regular wages in addition to seniority bonuses which in the case of those who have worked underground or in management is 30 per cent of pay; for workers over 50 with 20 years of service, base wage plus 80 per cent if they continue on the job; miners with 25 years service will receive a house and garden upon retirement and free medical aid for themselves and family; special rank and insignia were devised for engineering and technical staffs in the mining industry.

238:47 U.S.S.R. Invites U. S. to Evacuate Korea

September 26, Seoul

1. In a statement to the press, Col. General Terentyi F. Shtikov, chief of the Soviet delegation, declared: "that Korean independence can be achieved only when the Soviet and United States troops withdraw. . . . The Soviet delegation believes we may give the Koreans an opportunity to form themselves a government with the help and assistance of the Allies under the condition of the withdrawal of American and Soviet troops from Korea. The Soviet delegation declares that if the American delegation agrees with the proposal regarding the withdrawal of all foreign troops at the beginning of 1948 then the Soviet troops will be ready to leave Korea simultaneously with the American troops."

239:47 Molotov Protests Lack of U. S. Answer Re: Korea

October 9, Moscow

1. Requests statement and expresses disappointment at lack of answer regarding proposition of withdrawal of troops.

240:47 U. S. Answer to Molotov Re: Korea

October 20, Washington

1. "The Secretary of State announced on September 17 that the problem of setting up an independent government for a unified Korea would be presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations and on Sept. 23 the General Assembly voted to place this question on its agenda. In the opinion of the U. S. Government, the question of the withdrawal of occupation forces from Korea must be considered an integral part of the solution of that problem."

2. A copy of the U. S. proposals was given the Soviet delegation in New York, and in view of the inability of the two governments to come to any decisive conclusion in regard to Korea, the U. S. considers itself obligated to bring the matter before UN in order not further to delay the establishment of an independent and united Korea.

241:47 Exchange of Notes Between U. S. and U.S.S.R. Re: Gorbatov Article

September 29, Moscow

U. S. Note:

Protests general attitude of Soviet press toward U. S., and most particularly the analogy drawn by Gorbatov in the *Literary Gazette*, comparing President Truman with Hitler.

Soviet Reply:

Disavows responsibility for Gorbatov article, and claims that general press remarks are no worse in the U.S.S.R. than reactionary opinion of the Soviet Union and its leaders is in the United States' newspapers, magazines, etc.

242:47 Canada and Britain Sign Wheat Pact

October 1, Ottawa

1. $2.00 per bushel to be paid Canada for 140,000,000 bushels to be shipped next year, under contract signed in 1946 providing for shipment of 600,000,000 bushels during the ensuing four years.

2. The Canadian government will pay half and the British government half (in cash) under the British-Canadian loan agreement.

243:47 U. S. Resumes Diplomatic Relations with Bulgaria

October 1, Washington

1. Announcement by State Department that diplomatic relations are to be resumed immediately, and Donald R. Heath appointed Minister to Bulgaria.

244:47 Poles Ask Great Britain for Support on Repatriation

October 1, London

1. Through its ambassador, Jerzy Michalowski, Poland asked Britain to support her demands for the repatriation of Poles in Westphalia (Germany) as soon as possible. He pointed out that there were about 100,000 Poles in the British zone of Germany who had the right to return to Poland, and that 12,293 had already registered with Polish offices in Germany, while many more would have done so if they had not "been discouraged by official pressure." He added that the U.S.S.R. would probably follow suit if Britain took action.

245:47 Cominform Established

October 5, Moscow

The Conference of 9 Communist parties held in Poland at the end of September agreed on the following:

Resolution: 1. To set up an information bureau of representatives of the Communist parties of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia and Italy, and the Soviet All-Union Communist Party.

2. The Information Bureau will "organize and exchange experience and in case of necessity, coordinate the activity of Communist parties on foundations of mutual agreement."

3. The Information Bureau will have in it two representatives from each Central Committee.

4. The Information Bureau is to have printed an organ—fortnightly, in French and Russian and if possible in other languages.

5. 'The Information Bureau is to be in Belgrade."

October 5, Warsaw

Manifesto: Conditions during and following World War II have caused a new aspect in the balance of "political forces interplaying in the world arena, a shift in the relationship between states which were the victors in the second World War, their revaluation."

2. As long as the war continued, the Allied powers worked together; now that it is over, it is obvious that the goals for which they fought were different, viz., the "U.S.S.R. and the democratic countries" aim at liquidation of fascism and the rebuilding and strengthening of democracy in Europe, and the prevention of a possible recurrence of aggression of Germany, while,

3. The U. S. and England placed as their war aim the elimination of competition of Germany and Japan on the world market and the "consolidation of their dominant position."

4. As a result two camps have arisen, the anti-imperialistic camp of the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist camp of the U. S. The U. S. is showing a "growing aggressive activity," in military and strategic activities, economic expansion and ideological warfare, as evidenced by the Truman-Marshall plan which is only a farce, the "European branch of the general world plan of political expansion being realized by the U.S.A."

5. The subjugation of the world is sought by the U.S.A. and the "aggressors of yesterday" will be used as tools of this imperialistic policy.

6. The U. S. has used tactics of threats, force, blackmail and intimidation and all sorts of political tricks and economic pressure and bribery to gain its ends, masked by liberalism and pacifism to befuddle people "not too dexterous in politics."

7. "A separate place is reserved in this arsenal for treasonable policy of Rightist Socialists", such as Leon Blum in France, Attlee in Britain, Renner and Schaerf in Austria and Saragat in Italy.

8. "To frustrate those imperialistic plans of aggression we need the efforts of all democratic and anti-imperialistic forces in Europe."

9. The Communists must "fight against attempts at the economic and political subjugation of their countries and place themselves at the head of all forces ready to defend the cause of national honor and independence."

10. "In consequence the Communist parties should place themselves in the vanguard of the Opposition against the

imperialistic plans of expansion and aggression in all its manifestation whether in the sphere of state administration, politics, economics, or ideology and they should at the same time unite and coordinate their efforts on the basis of a common anti-imperialistic and democratic platform as well as gather around themselves all democratic and patriotic forces in their respective nations."

246:47 U.S. Military Government for Germany Sends 3 Protests to Soviet

October 5, Berlin

1. Subject of protests were articles in Soviet licensed German press which U. S. military officials considered anti-American.

2. The first article was concerned with cartoons, the second a reprint from a British article critical of President Truman and of Treasury Secretary Snyder, and a third in a Dresden newspaper alleging that U. S. authorities were enlisting Germans for military service in Greece.

3. The protests cited the directive of the Allied Control Council forbidding the German press from publishing rumors which might tend to make Germans hostile to or distrustful of the Allies.

247:47 Western Powers' Agreement with U.S.S.R. Re: German Reparations

October 5, Berlin

1. Have accepted Soviet offer of wheat, timber and other products as payment for reparations obtained from the western zone of Germany.

Note: It remained undecided whether the wheat and other commodities offered by the U.S.S.R. will come from the Soviet Union or the Russian occupation zone.

248:47 Canada to Admit 10,000 More Refugees

October 6, Ottawa

1. Persons from Displaced Persons camps to be admitted, to make a total of 20,000. The persons admitted may be charged against any future quotas to be set up by Canada as a result of the refugee problem.

249:47 Danish-Soviet Agreement

October 7, Copenhagen

1. Four-month agreement in which Denmark will send the U.S.S.R. all its surplus butter in exchange for 100,000 tons of Russian grain (60,000 tons of rye and 40,000 tons of barley) at the normal world market price.

250:47 Argentina's "Marshall Plan"

October 8, Washington

1. Argentine Ambassador Oscar Ivanissevitch stated to the press that Argentina was setting up her own "Marshall Plan" to help such South American countries as Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile, adding: "the best help for every country is to impose the 'Perón theory'—that is to go ahead with the capitalistic idea—but not with a monopolistic idea. The answer is neither with the extreme Left nor with the extreme Right."

251:47 Chilean Statement on Expulsion of Yugoslav Diplomats

October 9, Santiago

1. Coal miners were encouraged to resist returning to work despite advantageous conditions offered because of precise instructions of the Communist Party in Chile, directed from a satellite power of the Moscow Government.

2. As a result of their activities carried on on behalf of the International Communist Organization, the Foreign Minister advised Messrs. Cunja and Jakasa that they had "seriously infringed this country's hospitality and made an attempt against its independence with subversive aims, and the Government had decided, in conformity with international law to place him (Cunja) on the frontier in company with Señor Jakasa."

252:47 U.S.S.R. Protests Firing Upon Embassy

October 12, Moscow

1. Protests formally to Chile against gunfire attack upon Santiago Soviet Embassy, as a "shocking infringement upon diplomatic immunity."

Note: The Chilean Foreign Minister apologized to the Russian Ambassador for the attack.

253:47 Yugoslav Minister Protests Argentine Jailing of Envoys

October 13, Buenos Aires

1. In a 2,500-word statement to the press, the Yugoslav Minister to Argentina protested the treatment of two Yugoslav diplomats expelled from Chile and held by the Argentine police.

Note: Both men were released by Argentine officials.

254:47 Brazil Severs Relations with U.S.S.R.

October 21, Rio de Janeiro

1. As the result of an "outrageous and even calumnious article against the Chief of State" in the *Literary Gazette* published in Moscow, and stating that it is known that the Soviet press is controlled by the Soviet Government, the Brazilian government sent a note of protest, which was returned under the "false pretext" that it was an unfriendly note. In consequence, Brazil has decided to sever diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R.

Note: The U. S., at the request of Brazil, will represent that country in Moscow.

255:47 Chile Breaks Relations with U.S.S.R. & Czechoslovakia

October 21, Santiago

1. Events which have disturbed the public quiet of Chile during the last few months, the Chilean Government considers have been directed from the U.S.S.R. The Chilean Government is therefore breaking diplomatic and consular relations with the Soviet Union.

Note: On the same day Chile severed diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia.

256:47 South African Loan to Great Britain

October 9, Pretoria

1. Union of South Africa to lend £80,000,000 (approximately $320,000,000) in gold to Great Britain, payable on demand in three years should the South African gold reserve run low. Interest at the rate of 1½ per cent per annum.

2. Purchases from Britain will be paid for in gold.

3. Britain to import $48,000,000 in foodstuffs from South Africa annually, for the next three years.

257:47 Argentine-Rumanian Trade Pact

October 10, Buenos Aires

1. A commercial and financial agreement giving Rumania a credit of $25,000,000 in U. S. currency for the exclusive purchase of Argentine commodities, at 3½ per cent interest. Rumania will deposit the equivalent of the loan in gold at the Central Bank in Buenos Aires.

2. Rumania has guaranteed that none of the foodstuffs or other commodities so purchased will be used anywhere but in Rumania, and that she will facilitate the export to Argentina of such raw materials or manufactured items as Argentina may require.

258:47 U. S. and Great Britain Return Italian Gold

October 14, London

1. Protocol signed by U. S., Great Britain and Italy calling for the return to Italy of gold uncovered by the U. S. Fifth Army in northern Italy in May, 1945, where it had been taken by looting Nazi forces. The gold has been in the vaults of the Bank of Italy in Rome in the custody of Allied military authorties.

259:47 Italian-Argentine Trade Pact

October 13, Buenos Aires

1. Commercial and financial treaty grants Italy a loan of 700,000,000 pesos ($175,000,000) to purchase raw materials and foodstuffs in Argentina. It runs through 1951 and sets minimum quantities of exportable surplus grains, linseed oils and meats. Argentina is to send 400,000 tons of wheat annually.

2. Italy will send Argentina bicycles, sewing machines, typewriters, automobiles and other manufactured products.

260:47 Marshall Address to CIO

October 16, Boston

1. Labor plays a vital role in the functioning of the modern state.

2. What happens in the rest of the world affects all of us, and the basic problem of the world today is production, which involves other factors, such as food, fuel, housing and communications.

3. Europe is in need of assistance as it enters on a long winter. The countries participating in the "Marshall Plan" have submitted their findings which are being investigated by various United States agencies.

4. If economic stability is not achieved we are all in danger—labor, industry and agriculture alike.

5. We are proceeding with a determined campaign to establish world stability, and with the typical American readiness to assist those in need of help, to "discount vicious propaganda and outrageous criticism, and in the end to seek only to do what is right, so far as we can determine what is right."

261:47 Chinese Approve U. S. Troops in China

October 17, Nanking

1. The U. S. State Department ratified the statement of the Chinese Foreign Office to the effect that U. S. soldiers were on Chinese soil "with the consent of the Chinese Government."

2. "It is the understanding between the Chinese and American Governments that when either of the Governments consider it necessary to withdraw these American forces they shall be withdrawn," the statement continued.

262:47 Bulgaria Protests to UN Re: Greece

October 18, Sofia

1. Charges that Greek regular troops crossed Bulgarian border near Svilengrad on October 11, had occupied a Bulgarian Maritza River Island, crossed the river and fired on Bulgarian frontier guards.

The Security Powers of the General Assembly

BY CLYDE EAGLETON
Professor of International Law, New York University

What authority does the General Assembly have under the United Nations Charter to act to preserve peace and security?

While it was probably intended at Dumbarton Oaks that the Security Council should have fairly exclusive control over the security field, the powers of the General Assembly were greatly strengthened at San Francisco. Article 11 gives the Assembly the right to discuss any question relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. Therefore, a dispute may be brought before the General Assembly as well as before the Security Council, and this is made quite clear by Article 35.

Not only may the Assembly discuss a dispute or situation, but it may also—with one important exception—make recommendations as to how it should be settled. It should be recalled, here, that the Security Council itself can do no more than this, and that the General Assembly, when a dispute is before it, is not embarrassed by the veto. It is a debatable question whether the Assembly has another advantage, that of not being bound by the procedures set down for the Council in Chapter VII. Personally, I think it is bound by these procedures; but the point is not covered in the Rules of Procedure, not even in the revised Rules now being considered by the Assembly.

The exception to which I referred above is found in Article 12, which says that "while the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it," the General Assembly shall make no recommendations on that issue. It is the Council which decides whether it is so exercising its functions, and therefore whether or not the Assembly can legitimately make recommendations. It did, in this way, pass the Spanish and the Greek questions to the Assembly. If the question has first been brought before the Assembly, the Assembly is required to refer it to the Security Council if it is a matter on which "action is necessary." It is not clear what this means. It would seem to exclude enforcement action by the Assembly, but not necessarily recommendation of terms of settlement. For, if an Assembly resolution is "action," there is little sense in authorizing the Assembly to make recommendations in disputes —every time it gets ready to recommend, it must transfer the question to the Council!

Provided the question is legitimately before the Assembly, it has as much authority as does the Council, and it is less hampered by procedural difficulties.

The Palestinian question is in a different category from the Spanish and Greek matters. It is not a dispute between states and does not call for the sort of enforcement action covered by Chapter VII—unless some other state makes a threat to the peace out of it.

When enforcement is called for, the authority of the Assembly to act is less clear. Enforcement would seem to be the "action" which under Article 11 must be transferred to the Council. If the Council decides upon an aggressor and calls upon Members for armed forces, Members are obligated to respond; if the General Assembly adopts a resolution of such nature, no Member would be obligated to follow it. It could be argued that the Assembly has no right even to adopt such a resolution, though perhaps it could do so in a case which has been transferred to it from the Security Council. As a matter of fact, the Assembly has done so, and more. The Security Council is required by Article 39 to decide that a threat to the peace exists before it can call for enforcement action but the General Assembly, in the case of Spain, called for some of the sanctions of Article 41 without even deciding that Spain was a threat to the peace. None of the permanent members of the Security Council raised any objection to this procedure, and it stands as a precedent—perhaps a dangerous one. I am inclined to think that the Assembly overstepped its powers in this case, as it has done in other cases.

To sum up: The General Assembly can always discuss and criticize; if the matter is on the agenda of the Security Council, the Assembly can make no recommendation for "action," which presumably means enforcement; if the matter was brought originally before the Assembly, it must be transferred to the Council if "action" is necessary; and if the matter has been dropped by the Security Council, the Assembly can recommend settlement of the dispute, and has at least one precedent to show that it can recommend enforcement measures.

There seems no doubt, then, of the right of the General Assembly to handle the Greek case; and under Article 22, it may set up such organs as it thinks necessary for the purpose. The badly misnamed "Little Assembly" can legally be set up; the wisdom of doing so is a different question.

Certainly, this committee could do no more than the Assembly itself could do. The Assembly can recommend modifications of the veto but no one is required to listen to it. It can make recommendations concerning Palestine, which belongs under Article 14 rather than under the security provisions. When the Assembly operates within the somewhat unclear restrictions stated above, it has a wide field of jurisdiction in security matters and can not be accused of invading the rights of the Security Council.

The World Washes

Though Napoleon advised against it, people go right on cleaning their dirty linen in public

JAVA: girl and sarongs bathe together

MEXICO: girl at ancient trough

INDIA: this Hindu mother looks weary

HUNGARY: Danube folk beat their wash

BOUGAINVILLE: Marines left a legacy of gasoline tins

GUATEMALA: baby is a counterweight for mother's body

BRITAIN: she uses a public laundry

TRINIDAD: this transplanted Hindu, one of a colony, lacks a wife to do his wash

EGYPT: Cairo ironers use all limbs

FINLAND: family laundry is traditionally washed in the waters of Turku harbor

JAPAN: vegetation covers this pond

UNITED STATES: machines launder the clothes while madam manicures her nails

un WORLD opinion

press cartoons radio

The USSR—The First Thirty Years

The Soviet press and radio devotes much space and time to the 30th anniversary of the 1917 revolution that brought the present regime into power. A prominent member of the *Agitprop* (Administration of Agitation and Propaganda), Sapukhin, enumerates the struggles and achievements of these "first thirty years." According to him, "the main result of the historical victories scored by the Soviet people is the Stalin Constitution."

Probably the most significant portion of his long radio talk was his emphasis on the international implications of the October Revolution. "As was pointed out by Stalin himself," Sapukhin said, "the October Revolution is not one confined to a national framework. It is above all a revolution of an international world order, since it marks a radical change in the history of mankind, a transition from the old capitalistic world to a new Socialist world."

Stalin himself is quoted by the Soviet radio as saying: "We are accused of waging a propaganda campaign against capitalism. I must say that we need not wage such a campaign against capitalism. The very existence of the Soviet state, its growth, its material successes and its consolidation are the most effective forms of propaganda."

WHICH CAME FIRST, CHICKEN OR EGG? *Toronto Daily Star*

The anniversary is the dominant theme of newspaper articles, both in such national dailies as *Pravda*, *Trud* and *Izvestia*, and in the local organs of the Communist Party. The newspaper *Gorkovskaya Kommuna* describes the development of a typical Novgorod village over a period of thirty years. *Pravda Vostoka* outlines the history of the Uzbek Republic. *Kurskaya Pravda* devotes a series of articles to the growth and consolidation of collective farms in the Kursk region, while *Taganrogskaya Pravda* describes the cultural achievements of the city of Taganrog.

Greek Anniversary

Another anniversary is celebrated in Greece and in this celebration at least, both the Athens and insurgent radios show unusual unanimity. "Seven years ago our small but proud and unconquerable people rose like one man and struck at the fascist Italian invaders to protect our Fatherland," the clandestine radio station of the Greek guerillas beamed to its listeners, in words almost identical with the anniversary broadcast of the Athens Home Service.

At that point, however, the two opposing radios part. The clandestine station goes on to say: "Our people fought the Albanian epic despite and against the will of the Gluecksburg-Metaxas dictatorship which had prepared the ground for the subservience of the Fatherland to Hitlerite fascism." The official Athens radio, on the other hand, seizes the opportunity to point out Albanian subservience to Mussolini and fascism. Quoting from a seven year old issue of *Tomori*, an Albanian daily, it reveals that Enver Hoxha, now Premier of the Communist regime, paid tribute to the fascists in a special proclamation. According to the Athens radio Hoxha said in 1940: "We Albanians must believe in the doctrine of Italian fascism and this will strengthen our nationalist aspirations within the framework of Mussolini's Roman Empire."

The Great Divide

The prolonged clash between the east and the west, merely hinted at

these opposing broadcasts, is rojected to a far greater screen as orld press and radio wage the old war over the Marshall Plan. he lines are distinctly drawn according to the geopolitical realities the day, slightly fading along e edges of the Great Divide.

Similar sentiments are echoed in rticles appearing in the important openhagen daily *Social-Demoraten,* and in *La Nación* of Sanago de Chile. The latter describes e Marshall Plan as an effort to stablish a connection between the rosperous world as it exists in the nited States and "a dispossessed nd hungry humanity."

Ta Kung Pao, China's outstandg independent daily, concludes an rticle on the clash between the ast and west with these reasoned ords: "The United States should e broadminded and far-sighted nough not to provoke Russia but ather to choose a moderate course" -leading toward eventual rapprochement.

The possibility and even the robability of rapprochement is the onclusion Walter Lippmann reached after a trip to Europe to survey e "cold war" on its actual battleround. Writing in the *New York Herald Tribune* after his return, he aintains that the United States as won the cold war—only it is afraid to believe it." It is, therefore, "unprepared to use constructively the opportunity for a European settlement which is closer at and than we think it is. . . . Our roblem," Lippmann writes, "is . . . o push toward a settlement which ermits the recovery of Europe nd of the world, and to relax the ension, to subdue the anxiety and o end the panic."

The Promised Land

While Europe thus subsists on e glittering promises contained in merican and Soviet plans made or them, the Promised Land preares to collect on a last promise. s it is to be expected, Arab and ewish radios and newspapers reect divergent attitudes toward e solution now before the United ations. *Al-Bilad* of Baghdad, Iraq, iews with satisfaction the emerence of strong Pan-Arabism from e controversy raging over Palesne. The factors which work for oncrete political and economic unity in the Arab world are, according to this newspaper, language, religion, history, traditions and ways of life, common political and economic interests. "These are the best answers an Arab can give to the West."

The Syrian daily *Alef-Ba* of Damascus provides the elaboration. "Let the Democracies and the Marxists of the West understand that the Arabs have lost faith in them," it writes. "Let them know that Zionism, colonial imperialism and power politics are denying the Arabs any option as to their political future. They are driven into Fascism by the very hand that suffered most from its philosophy." This *volte face* mirrors Arab disappointment at Russo-American unity over the UN's plan for Palestine, and substitutes the threat of fascism for that of communism, the former bugaboo.

Davar, semi-official Labor daily of Tel Aviv, recognizes such Arab statements as sallies in the war of nerves. "It is not directed mainly against the Jewish community in Palestine which has already proved many times that it is not terrorized by threats," the paper writes. "It is a war of nerves directed mainly against UN."

While the world is thus involved in the Arab-Jewish controversy, Britain assumes the strange role of a seemingly uninterested onlooker. A series of editorials in *The Times* of London is remarkable for its impassive treatment of the issue that was once Britain's own. The impression is given forceful emphasis that Whitehall has had enough of it. "It is clear," *The Times* writes, "that the British people have made up their minds once and for all; and unless the United Nations can provide both a plan and the appropriate international agency for its enforcement, this country can and should carry out its stated intention to leave Palestine."

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Books for Christmas

BY ALICE P. HACKETT
Associate Editor of *Publishers' Weekly*

In selecting Christmas gifts from the books on international affairs, it is wise to choose the newest, so as to have a reasonable certainty that those who are to receive them have not already read them, since specialists are apt to get the new books in their fields as soon as they can. This season's newest books in the general field of national affairs and international relations fall into four groups: books on headline topics of today; histories, mostly of the recent past; travel guides; and creative literature.

Those in the last-mentioned group offer, perhaps, the best choice of gifts. Their choice is not based on special interests; they are by internationally famous authors with wide appeal. To be published not long before Christmas is a new short novel by John Steinbeck, an inexpensive but beautiful little book, illustrated by the Mexican artist, Jose Clemente Orozco. (*The Pearl,* Viking Press, $2.) Emil Ludwig, Jan Valtin and Arnold Zweig have new novels out in November. Though Emil Ludwig's *Othello* is the reworking of the story of Othello and Desdemona, in the setting of Renaissance Venice, its theme is peculiarly timely for a modern world deeply concerned with race relations (Putnam, $3.). In *Castle in the Sand,* Jan Valtin pictures America as the world's refuge. It is a story of the early war years, of escape from the Nazis to America (Beechhurst Press, $3.). Another emotionally powerful novel of the same period is Arnold Zweig's *The Axe of Wandsbek.* It is about a bourgeois couple caught between the Nazis and the Communists and of the man who curried favor with the Nazis by becoming their executioner (Viking Press, $3.50).

Other interesting novels from which to choose are Emily Hahn's *Miss Jill,* an English prostitute on the China Coast and what the war did to her (Doubleday, $2.50); James Hilton's *Nothing So Strange,* with scenes in Europe in the 1930's and later in America, where a scientist grapples with his two problems of vengeance against the Nazis and developments in nuclear physics (Little, Brown, $2.75); Josephine Niggli's *Step Down, Elder Brother,* a novel of a Mexican village (Rinehart, $3.); Zelda Popkin's *Small Victory,* problems of AMG personnel in Germany (Lippincott, $2.75); Philip Woodruff's *The Wild Sweet Witch,* the psychology and spirit of the Indian people (Harcourt, Brace, $3.). Anyone who appreciates a superior spy story, which has really good psychology and character development, will be excited to receive *Scene in the Ice-Blue Eyes* by Percy Winner (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50).

Another eminent author with a new book is Lin Yutang. *The Gay Genius* is the biography of a great and ancient Chinese scholar, Su Tungpo (John Day, $3.75). It's unusual to find a night club star grouped with such notable writers, but Jimmy Savo's *Little World, Hello!* is a unique sort of book. It has a natural, disarming charm in its description of the villagers its author came to know when he and his wife moved into the castle in Italy she had inherited (Simon & Schuster, $2.75). Another out of the ordinary book that has some very hilarious moments is *The Stainless Steel Kimono,* in which Elliott Chaze records the experiences of out-of-work paratroopers in occupied Japan (Simon & Schuster, $2.75).

Those who want to keep up to date with creative writing in Soviet Russia will be well rewarded by two volumes which present many facets, both published in November. One is an anthology containing four novels, twenty short stories, essays and poems, edited by Joshua Kunitz, *Russian Literature Since t Revolution* (Boni & Gaer, $5. The other is a critique of Sovi writing, publishing and litera standards by George Reavey, *S viet Literature Today* (Yale Ur versity Press, $3.50).

There are only five brand ne travel guides and interprete and four of them are about th Latin American countries, whe most pleasure-bent tourists a going these days. Highly recom mended is *Now in Mexico* by Hu son Strode (Harcourt, Brace, $5. All published in November a *These Are the Mexicans* by Herbe Cerwin (Reynal & Hitchcock, $5. *Halfway to Heaven* (Guatemala by Jean Hersey (Prentice-Ha $3.50), *The River Plate Republi* by Betty de Sherbinin, author four novels laid in South Americ (Coward-McCann, $4.) and *Afric I Presume?* by Alan Reeve, a artist-journalist's colorful accou of the continent, from Cairo to th Cape (Macmillan, $3.).

Today's headline books featu discussions of U.S. foreign polic Outstanding are *Speaking Frank* by the former Secretary of Stat James F. Byrnes (Harper, $3.50 and *The Cold War* by Walter Lip mann (Harper, $1.). The Unite States in relation to the Lat American countries is the subje of *The United States and the Cari bean* by Dexter Perkins (Harva University Press, $3.) and *Batt for the Hemisphere* by Edwa Tomlinson (Scribner, $3.50).

The United States and Russia b Vera Micheles Dean (Harva University Press, $3.) is, like *Th United States and the Caribbea* a volume in the American Foreig Policy Library. Both are objectiv discussions of U.S. foreign relatio in the light of history. Two ne books on Russia itself are dispara in viewpoint. The Dean of Cante

bury, Dr. Hewlett Johnson, in *Soviet Russia Since the War*, is most favorably impressed by the internal situation as he found it in a three months' tour (Boni & Gaer, $3.). Hal Lehman, newspaperman, during eighteen months' postwar reporting in six Russian-occupied countries, found Soviet policies outside her borders most alarming. He gives his views in *Russia's Europe* (Appleton-Century, $3.75). For related historical background is *Balkan Politics, No Man's Land of World Power Politics* by Joseph S. Roucek (Stanford University Press, $3.50).

And Call It Peace by Marshall M. Knappen (University of Chicago Press, $3.) and *Bridges Over the Rhine* by Ernst Erich Noth (Holt, $3.) discuss America's present relations to Germany. For U.S. occupation policies in the Far East, there is *Danger from the East* by Richard E. Lauterbach (Harper, $3.75). Of two valuable books on China today, one, *China Awake* by Robert Payne (Dodd, Mead, $4.) strikes an optimistic note; the other, *Last Chance in China* by Freda Utley (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50), is pessimistic in tone. Going on to another of the world's trouble spots there is the *Report on Palestine* by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (Somerset Books, $2.50), giving the findings and recommendations of the Committee. To complete this unhappy tour is *Continent in Limbo* (Reynal & Hitchcock, $3.), Edith Sulkin's most vivid and human report on the hungry peoples of Europe.

SPACE PERMITS only the listing of provocative new books in the category of history, though they all have, of course, direct bearing on the present:

The Foreign Affairs Reader edited by Hamilton Fish Armstrong Harper, $5.)

An Encyclopedia of World History Edited by William L. Langer. Revised and enlarged. (Houghton Mifflin, $5.)

The Roosevelt Era edited by Milton Crane. (Boni & Gaer, $5.00)

F.D.R.: His Personal Letters, Early Years edited by Elliott Roosevelt. (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $5.)

The New Yorker Book of War Pieces (Reynal & Hitchcock, $5.)

This Is Pearl! By Walter Millis. (Morrow, $4.)

The Marines' War by Fletcher Pratt. (William Sloane, $5.)

America in Perspective edited by H. S. Commager. (Random House, $4.)

Postscript to Yesterday by Lloyd Morris. (Random House, $5.)

War as I Knew It by General George S. Patton. (Houghton, Mifflin, $3.75)

The Battle of the Atlantic by S. E. Morison. (Little, Brown, $6.)

A Letter from Grosvenor Square by John G. Winant. (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.75)

Juarez and His Mexico by Ralph Roeder. (Viking Press, $10.)

The von Hassell Diaries by Ulrich von Hassell. (Doubleday, $5.)

Alsos by Samuel A. Goudsmit. (Schuman, $3.50)

The Making of Yesterday by Raoul de Roussy de Sales. (Reynal & Hitchcock, $4.50)

Paris Herald by Al Laney. (Appleton-Century, $3.)

Liberia by Charles Morrow Wilson. (Wm. Sloane, $3.75)

books from everywhere

International Affairs

PEACE OR ANARCHY by Cord Meyer, Jr. Boston, Atlantic—Little, Brown. $2.50.

As President of United World Federalists Cord Meyer states the case for world peace through world government. He is very much in earnest, this young man who was wounded in the Pacific and had some idea of what war was like even before atomic bombs. He calls in the scientists as witnesses to testify how super-destructive another war would be, not only with atomic bombs but with newer and even more horrible weapons. With all his own weapons of persuasion he shows that "the desperate armament race in which the Soviet Union and the United States are already engaged" will lead to more fear and insecurity and finally to the war that will destroy civilization. The Baruch plan, he says, does not go far enough to satisfy either the American or the Russian desire for security.

He urges that the UN Charter be amended in accordance with Article 109, to give it legal authority to enforce disarmament in all nations and the power to establish its own police and military forces for inspection and any attempted aggression. The program is worked out in detail but success naturally depends on the willingness of the

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MINORITIES IN THE ARAB WORLD
By A. H. Hourani

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The appendix contains a chronology of the United Nations, a roster of the member nations with up-to-date statistics on population and area, and a detailed bibliography of publications dealing with the international organization. A "Who's Who in the United Nations" supplies information about 600 delegates to various United Nations bodies since San Francisco.

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nations, especially the U. S. and the Soviet Union, to sacrifice some freedom of action for the good of all and for themselves as well. Cord Meyer believes that the initiative must be taken by the United States in order to allay Russian suspicion and that the Russians have everything to gain by accepting a world law which safeguards all countries equally. The time to begin? Now.

LEGAL DICTIONARY, English-French (DICTIONNAIRE JURIDIQUE, Anglais-Francais) by Raoul Aglion. New York, Brentano's. $7.00.

In international law and in diplomatic exchanges precision of language is of the utmost importance. Raoul Aglion, special adviser to the Secretary General of the United Nations, is equally at home in French and in English. His dictionary of technical terms in law rendered into French from English is more than a dictionary. Many English and U. S. legal terms are so bound round with associations and traditions that they defy literal translation. In a majority of cases therefore the author gives several lines or a paragraph of lucid explanation in French so there can be no misunderstanding as to the meaning. This volume should be useful to all those engaged in international negotiations of a delicate nature.

Europe

CONTINENT IN LIMBO by Edith Sulkin. New York, Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.00.

With insight and a sympathetic approach to the human problems involved, Edith Sulkin gives the feel and atmosphere of an exhausted, groping, discouraged Europe. She has written a poignant book, especially for those who take statistics like pills but readily get to the core of a situation through the drama of everyday life and people. Mrs. Sulkin visited England, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland and Germany. She knew many of these countries and spoke their languages. Now in 1946 she saw many old friends and met others through them. Except in Czechoslovakia, where everyone was working hard and for the most part optimistic about the future, and in Sweden, where "Stockholm was Europe's postwar boomtown," she found dreariness and an apathetic kind of hopelessness everywhere. The young people don't know which way to turn. They see no future at home. In Holland one man said, "We've had the Germans —America is the dollar country, she's not interested in us—what do we have to lose by trying Moscow? Can it be worse?" But bad as Mrs. Sulkin found the outlook and conditions in the rest of Europe, "Germany was in hell." She could not trust the people who loudly proclaimed their "democracy" to her and afterwards proved to be Nazis under the skin. Formal denazifying an teaching the Germans democracy coul in her opinion, hardly produce fertil results under the existing circumstance There is "no solution for Germany unt there is a solution of the over-all Rus sian-American problem. Nowhere was i clearer than in the four-sector city c Berlin that the world was divide against itself." There is nothing pom pous, nothing theoretical about thi book. It is the simple story of Europ today as Mrs. Sulkin has seen it throug its people, many of whom poured ou their hearts to her.

United States

SPEAKING FRANKLY by Jame F. Byrnes. New York, Harper & Bros. $3.50.

Even though Mr. Byrnes confesse in his foreword that writing is not h profession, he has produced a valuabl and highly significant account, as a active participant in the U. S. negotia tions toward the peace settlements fro the time of the Big Three meeting a Yalta in February 1945 to the Ne York meeting of the Council of Foreig Ministers in November 1946. The boo is much more effective in Mr. Bryne own South Carolina homespun than it had been artificially polished by ghost writer. His intimate revelatio of what took place behind the scene at Yalta, Potsdam and the conference in London, Moscow and Paris cove two of the most dramatic and tens years in history. Political antagonists Mr. Byrnes have attacked some of h statements, but unless they were pre ent at the meetings which he attende with Roosevelt and Truman they hav no right to question the veracity of h shorthand notes, however they ma disapprove of the way he carried ou his duties as Secretary of State.

A court stenographer in his earl days, he put the experience to good u in jotting down many notes during th conferences, but only at Yalta, whe he accompanied President Roosevelt the capacity of adviser, did he hav time to make a complete stenograph record of the conversations. The chapt on Yalta with the verbatim dialogu among the Big Three is most illumina ing. As Secretary of State for Preside Truman, Mr. Byrnes went with him Potsdam and also put in strenuous wo at six or seven additional conference trying to reach some agreement wi Russia. He makes no secret of his di ficulties with Molotov and from his ow experience gives an interesting analys of Russian technique in dealing wi other countries. But he does not gi up the hope that the Soviets will eve tually cooperate. "Negotiating with t Soviets may effect the nerves of a fe statesmen but another world war wou more seriously affect the lives of m lions of people." Mr. Byrnes has inde spoken frankly of matters he fee everyone has the right to know. has tried to give the public his "se at the conference table."

THIS IS PEARL! by Walter Millis. New York, William Morrow, $4.00.

Walter Millis, one of the chief editorial writers on the *New York Herald Tribune*, is a keen analyist of events and of personalities faced by events, as he proved in his first ambitious effort, *The Martial Spirit*, a relentless lively interpretation of the Spanish-American War and its causes. In THIS IS PEARL! he selects the highlights from the 40-volume report of the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, and from other official records and documents and such unofficial sources as newspaper files and a dozen accounts by those who participated in some phase of the complicated situation. It was an overwhelming supply of source material from which Millis had to pick and choose but he cut through non-essentials to the core of what happened and why. The result is a clear, well ordered and often exciting narrative of the year of decision—1941.

It was evident early in 1941, Millis reveals, that the opposing policies of Japan and the United States were bound to meet "in violent collision." The only question was how soon. But the United States desperately needed pause to build up army, air force, armaments and navy. There was so little time and so little means in which to do so much. The crisis had to be postponed as long as possible. Out in Hawaii where the Pacific fleet lay at anchor Admiral Kimmel and General Short beseiged Washington constantly for more equipment. It was generally known and accepted that Hawaii might face a surprise attack, but when the attack came no real preparations had been made. The local heads of the Army and the Navy cooperated—chiefly on the golf links. For the catastrophe Millis feels that Kimmel and Short as the commanding officers cannot "escape the major responsibility for the military surprise" in spite of mitigating circumstances. But Millis does not push his personal opinions on the reader. He has told the story of Pearl Harbor "to stand on its own merits," with its diplomatic exchanges, decoding of Japanese secret messages and impressive line-up of wartime leaders. It is living and breathtaking history viewed objectively.

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1945-1947 by John C. Campbell and others. New York, Harpers & Bros., for the Council on Foreign Relations. $5.00.

This survey covers world events from the end of the war in Europe to the spring of 1947, with special reference to their effect on U. S. reactions and policies. The problems, responsibilities and decisions imposed on the United States during this difficult period have been tremendous. Dr. Campbell, who was in the State Department during the war and in 1946 secretary of the U. S. delegations to the Council of Foreign Ministers and the Paris Peace Conference, describes what went on at the meetings he attended. On the whole his approach is impartial and where he thinks the United States has been wrong in policy and judgment he is critical in comment. He gives special attention to the Peace Treaties, Central Europe, Latin America and the Good Neighbor Policy, the U. S. and the Far East, the United Nations and, throughout the book, to the increasing differences between the U. S. and the Soviet Union. A fine bibliography adds to the reference value of this well-prepared volume on matters significant to the future.

Latin America

BATTLE FOR THE HEMISPHERE by Edward Tomlinson. New York, Scribner's. $3.50.

For 25 years Edward Tomlinson as writer and broadcaster, has traveled back and forth to the Latin American republics, visiting some of them two or three times a year. No matter what readers think of his views, they cannot help admiring the courage of his plain speaking. The Americas to the South have been to him both a career and a way of life and because of his blunt comments on current political conditions he may no longer be welcome in certain Latin American countries.

Of the 125,000,000 people scattered over the vast undeveloped territory of Latin America, Tomlinson believes that the great majority are democratic as North Americans understand the word. But not only must they contend with repression from the Right; they are being forced to impotency between the dictatorship on the Right and Communism on the Left which according to Tomlinson, has spread rapidly since the end of the war. (Incidentally, since this book was published both Brazil and Chile have broken off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.) As for dictatorship on the Right the author's indignation is centered on Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, Somozo of Nicaragua and Perón of Argentina. Perón is quoted as saying "We shall eventually control South America . . . When Brazil falls the continent shall be ours." Tomlinson tells how Bolivia, Paraguay and Chile—and Brazil also to a certain extent—were forced to submit to Perón's politico-economical demands, because of their economic dependence on Argentina.

In spite of all the disturbing evidence presented, Tomlinson reiterates that the love of freedom is deeply ingrained in the minds and hearts of both the intelligentsia and the peasants, and he cites the democratic progress in such countries as Uruguay, Costa Rica, Colombia, Brazil and Mexico. But he believes that there is serious cause for alarm in the acts of repression and aggression made in and upon some of the Latin American countries. He wants the United States to revive the Good Neighbor Policy of Cordell Hull's time and to support democratic leaders and movements. But his suggestion to adopt a "reformed" Dollar Diplomacy to make for mutual prosperity may at this late date merely revive Latin American suspicion as to U.S. intentions.

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un WORLD poll

Will We Have Peace?

Participants: 67 Rhodes Scholars and Guggenheim Fellows

THE world could have permanent peace—but it won't. That is the opinion of a majority of the highly educated, internationally trained participants this month.

Only 12 of the 67 questioned think that enduring peace is impossible; 52 believe a world without war can exist. But 34 of these 52 are convinced that such a world is not now being achieved. More than two-thirds, therefore, have come to the conclusion that a new war is probable or even inevitable.

This deeply pessimistic attitude is explained in part by a lack of faith in the United Nations as at present constituted. Its most serious weakness, according to 15 of those polled, is the Security Council veto. Almost as many put the blame on persisting nationalistic spirit: the UN "has become an instrument for the aggrandizement of competing powers"; it is "unable to cope with the current wave of nationalism"; it is hampered by "the conception of national sovereignty in the delegates" and by "the cowardice, selfishness and greed of the individual citizen in the member nations." A few of the participants believe that the most serious weakness of the UN is the membership of the USSR and its satellites; whether or not a UN without them would be capable of preventing war they do not say. Others blame the lack of understanding between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. One respondent thinks that UN's greatest handicap is "the U.S. ignorance of world conditions and history."

WHAT can be done about it? In order to combat the nationalistic tendencies of UN delegates, it has been suggested that a substantial proportion of them be chosen by vote of the people, rather than by the governments of the member nations. A majority of the participants (38) think this is a good idea; 25 do not, some because they feel the time is not yet ripe.

Other proposals for strengthening the UN include giving it a powerful police force and the right to lay and collect taxes; turning it into a world government and limiting or eliminating national sovereignty; granting additional authority to the Assembly; educating the people of the world to the international ideal. Several feel that the UN will gain strength in time, perhaps by growing up through regional federations. Three declare that it is doomed to failure, one of them as "the most notable of FDR's many ghastly errors."

DESPITE their pessimism about the ability of the UN to keep the peace, the Rhodes and Guggenheim scholars of this poll are firmly devoted to the ideal of a government which rises above the nations. They appear to believe that peace can be achieved if international authority replaces national sovereignty. For example, four-fifths of those answering the question favor the pooling of economic rights and problems and are opposed to the maintenance of national sovereignty in such fields. Even more strikingly international in outlook is the attitude of most of the group on the safeguarding of individual freedom throughout the world. Who is to be responsible for the observance of the human rights to be listed in the bill which the United Nations is now drafting? How can we make sure that the people of the world actually possess them? Less than a third of those expressing opinions would be satisfied if each nation implemented the bill within its own territory; the rest would trust nothing less than international authority.

There is no staple answer to the question, "What human beings have made the greatest contribution to the UN?" Franklin Roosevelt receives the greatest number of votes; Trygve Lie is next. Three participants each choose Jan Masaryk, Woodrow Wilson, Winston Churchill, Wendell Willkie, George Marshall, and Herbert Evatt. Others receiving votes range from Ernest Bevin, Eleanor Roosevelt, Paul-Henri Spaak and Eelco Van Kleffens to Dante and Tennyson. A believer in the value of the printed word gives the honor to Gutenberg and Mergenthaler. One vote goes to Hitler because "he forced it (the UN) into being." Of a different order are two responses: "the millions who died in the war" and "the 'little shots' in every country who have supported it though they recognize its imperfections."

Artist twins Stephen (right) and Richard

This Month's Cover

A WHITE dove of peace bearing a sprig of Christmas evergreen in place of the conventional olive branch is the symbol of the season's spirit chosen by nine-year-old Stephen Jones, our cover artist.

Young Stephen is an artist of promise. Though his technical skill is not unusual among talented children of his age, he knows clearly what he wishes to convey and is able to state it warmly and simply.

Stephen and his twin Richard are in the fourth grade of a New York school. They both paint, play baseball and skate. For them Christmas is a time for toys, and sleigh rides, and peace.

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